A

MEMORIAL

OF THE

Reformation,

(Chiefly in ENGLAND)

AND OF

Britain's Deliverances

FROM

Popery and Arbitrary-Power,

Since that Time, to the Year, 1716.

Wherein is Contained, Some Account of the Apostacy of the CHURCH in its Rise and Progress, till POPERY was Established in the World.

The State of the *Reformation* under King HENRY VIII. EDWARD VI. and Queen ELIZABETH: With the Principles and Endeavours of those that have from time to time stood for a further *Reformation*; as a short History of *Nonconformity*.

A Particular Relation of all the Plots and Conspiracies of *Papists* and others against the *Reformation*, and Civil Liberties of the LAND. Some short *Memoirs* of the CIVIL WAR in K. *CHARLES* the First's Time; And a distinct Answer to the Question, *Who Cut off the* KING's HEAD.

1 SAM. 7. 12.

Then Samuel *took a stone, and set it between* Mizpeh *and* Shen, *and called the name thereof* Eben-Ezer, *saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.*

By *BENJAMIN BENNET.*

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THE PREFACE.

I Don't apprehend my ſelf much concern'd to apologize for this Undertaking, and by liberal Profeſſions of good Intention, Endeavour to beſpeak the Reader's Favour. Two Things are neceſſary to gain it acceptance with him, the Value and Suitableneſs of the Work it ſelf, and the Candour of his Temper: If Either of theſe be wanting, an Apology is uſeleſs; if Neither 'tis needleſs.

I am Senſible, what is here done, muſt not pretend to paſs for an Exact Hiſtory, 'tis rather a Miſcellany of things; but it muſt be my Excuſe, that 'twas begun without any Plan

for ſuch a Volume, and was to conſiſt only of a few Sheets, to introduce a Sermon Preach'd on K. GEORGE's Coronation-day, *connecting former with later Deliverances, (the Subject of that Diſcourſe). The Sermon was tranſcrib'd, more than a Year and half ago, as was the greateſt part of theſe Papers; and tho' the former is ſuppreſt, as being now quite out of date, the latter venture abroad into the World, in hope they may in ſome meaſure ſerve the Intereſt of the Chriſtian* Reformed Religion, *and if they be bleſs'd to this Purpoſe, I have my End, and ſhall leſs regard any Imputation of Preſumption, Raſhneſs,* &c. *or the Severity of the Criticks Eye.*

The Account of the Reformation *was at firſt much larger, but 'twas thought fit to contract it, to make room for ſome other things, not leſs agreeable to the Deſign of this Work; which is not ſo much to give an Hiſtory of the* Reformation *it ſelf, as of Providence in beginning and defending it, and this not for the Uſe of the learn'd and curious, but the more common Readers, that have not acceſs to larger Volumes, nor leiſure to peruſe them. And if nothing elſe, the Variety of the matter, greater than is ordinarily*

to

to be found in such a Compass, may I hope afford Entertainment.

I have been somewhat particular in the Narrative of the Conspiracies *and* Plots, &c. *have Endeavour'd to lead the Reader back, and set him upon the Precipice, where we have so often been; letting him see the Destruction that has from time to time, hover'd over our Heads, and how seasonably God has interposed, and become our Salvation. The History of these things, I have carry'd down through the several Reigns since the* Reformation, *to the late horrid infamous* Rebellion; *which, it may be, some may think, I've past over too slightly; but as much is said as seem'd necessary, and all that my Limits, would well admit. Larger Histories will, I doubt not, record these Transactions more fully and minutely, and by reproaching this stupid ungrateful Age, give warning to Posterity.*

I know but one thing that can with any Colour be alledg'd against the profess'd Design of this Memorial, (which is to display the Divine Providence, in our National Deliverances, and invite to Gratitude) viz. *That what we call National Deliverances, are some of 'em*

National Rebellions. We have caſt off, ſay they, our Allegianee to our Natural, Rightful, Hereditary Princes, have Reſiſted the Powers ſet over us by God, ſo that there's too much of Guilt in † thoſe Deliverances, Revolutions, and Settlements, to be a fit matter of Thankſgiving. They ſhould be remembred with Tears and Repentance, inſtead of being Celebrated with Panegyricks and Ebenezers.

But as the Notion upon which this Objection is Grounded, (viz. *the indefeazible Right of Kings, Non-Reſiſtance,* &c. *) has been ſufficiently baffled many a time, and, one would think Expos'd to Contempt; ſo the Law of the Land has now Superſeded it, 'tis Dead both in Law and Reaſon, and really can bind no Man's Conſcience, (except as Error binds it) any more than* Mahomet's *Rules concerning Abſtinence, or the* Pope's *Bull, on* Maunday Thurſday.

There

† A certain Author ſpeaking of the Revolution, and it's being Applauded as a Deliverance from Miſery and Slavery, ſays, Upon Conſideration it may appear to be in truth nothing elſe, but a *Deliverance*, as this means, *a ſetting us looſe from all reſtraints of Conſcience and Honour.*

There is indeed, ſo much of Judgment in this Doctrine it falls ſo heavy on Mankind, leaves them in ſuch deplorable Circumſtances, that was there Truth in it, I ſhould have Expected to have found it at the beginning of the Bible, and that when the Death threatned our firſt Parents, came to be branch'd out into ſome of it's particulars, (viz. *the Sorrow of the Woman in Child Bearing, her more uneaſie Subjection to her Husband, the Barrenneſs of the Earth, the Toil and Labour of Man, his return to Duſt at laſt*) *there ſhould have been an Expreſs Mention of this as the worſt Ingredient in that Death,* (*with reſpect to temporal Concerns*) *viz.* That Mankind ſhould be given up to the Will and Luſts of Tyrants, *but as we find nothing of this there, we have reaſon to think, the Gracious Governour of the World, has not doom'd us ſo low, laid us in ſuch Chains. He that promiſed to* break the Serpent's Head, *and deliver us from the Tyranny of Satan, has not Subjected us to the Tyranny of thoſe of our own Species, reſerving us no remedy, but Prayers and Tears.*

But 'tis objected that the Apoſtle (Rom. 13.) *requires abſolute Subjection to higher*

Powers, and threatens Damnation, to those that resist even Tyrants, such as Nero and Claudius, who were the Powers (one of 'em) actually Reigning, when he wrote his Epistle. And says the Apostle of those Powers, that they are ordained of God, and those that resist them shall receive Damnation.

But if the Objector will please to read the Context, and impartially consider it, the Objection will vanish, and leave him whether he will or not: 'Tis evident even to a Demonstration, that as the Apostle does not here appoint any particular Form of Government, so he says nothing of particular present Governours, only recommends Subjection to Governours in general, and that from the consideration of the Divine Institution of their Office, and the Benefit of it to Mankind, when duely administred. To resist such Governours as answer the end of their Office, and the Apostle's Representation, is no doubt a very great Fault and deserves a proportionable Punishment Κρίμα both here and hereafter. But the resisting of Tyrants, falls not under the Apostle's Sentence; this Text says nothing to the Case of Tyrants, but really Excludes them, as being another

another ſort of Creatures, from what he deſcribes, and the very reverſe of that Character, he gives the Miniſters of God, to whom he requires Subjection.

To put this matter beyond all doubt, let us ſuppoſe Nero *here meant, as the Objector would have it, and try how finely the Text runs, when thus apply'd.*

" I enjoyn that every Soul, (Chriſtians " as well as others) be Subject to the " Higher Powers, for the Powers that " at preſent be, are ordained of God. " *Nero* particularly, (now at the Head of " the Roman Empire) is ſo, and whoever " reſiſts him, ſhall receive Damnation, " for he's not a Terror to good Works, " (diſcouraging and perſecuting good Men) " only to Evil. Do well, and you have " nothing to fear from *Nero*, for he's the " Miniſter of God for Good, a Revenger to Execute Wrath upon Evil Doers; " ſo that 'tis your Duty to be Subject to " him, (*Nero*) not only from fear of Puniſhment, but from Conſcience, and " the fear of God. You ought to ſupport " him in all his Power and Dignity, (which

" he

" he ſo well Employs) paying him ſuch
" Tribute as he demands, and as is due
" to him; for he is God's Miniſter, con-
" tinually attending on this very thing,
" Vigilantly diſcharging the Duty of his
" Office, protecting all his Subjects, re-
" ſtraining the Injurious, defending the
" Innocent, and every way promoting
" the good of the Community.

This muſt be the Apoſtle's *Senſe, or elſe the Objection is nonſenſe, and I leave it to every Impartial Perſon, to conſider how injurious it muſt be to an inſpired* Apoſtle, *to make him talk at this rate. What an Idea muſt it give the World of Chriſtianity? What would the* Romans *particularly, (who had ſo noble a ſenſe of Liberty) have thought of the Chriſtian Religion, when they heard one of the chief Propagators of it, had ſo Zealouſly eſpous'd the Cauſe of Slavery, and obliged all on pain of Damnation, to be ſubject even to their* Nero, *whom the Senate had condemned as a publick Enemy, and the People hated as a Tyrant? But I ſhall not ſtand further to combat ſuch a Shadow, which indeed I would not have troubled this Preface with, but that ſome who would be thought Zealous* Proteſtants

make

ke it a matter of Conſcience and lay ſo great a
eſs upon it, as not only to undervalue the moſt
inent Publick Favour of Providence, but to
rifice their Religion, Liberty and All, for
e ſake of it.

The Deſign of theſe Papers, has been already
nted and is ſufficiently Evident, viz. to cele-
ate Providence in our National Deliverances,
ong which that Grand Deliverance from Po-
ry, the retrieving the Chriſtian Religion al-
ſt loſt, in the Ignorance, and Corruption of
e Romiſh Church deſerves a ſpecial notice.
is the moſt Eminent Salvation that God has
ought for us, to which all the reſt are ſubor-
nate, and which next to our Redemption by
e Son of God challenges our loudeſt Praiſes;
dyet when the preſent ſtate of the Reformation
d Proteſtant Religion as profeſt among us,
conſidered methinks we find an allay in our Joy,
d too juſt Cauſe for the ſame mixture of Af-
ſion, that was expreſs'd when the Foundation
the ſecond Temple was laid, ſome ſhouted
ud for Joy, and others wept with a loud Voice,
hat the People could not diſcern, the ſhout of
, for the noiſe of Weeping. We ought to re-
e abundantly rejoice; (he deſerves not the
Name

Name of a Christian, a Briton, *that does n*
when we consider the Blessings, which by Wond
of Providence, have been secured to us, and
we want not cause of Lamentation. We ha
had the Bible in our own Language, Preach
Encouraged to inculcate the Doctrine of the G
pel, for near 200 Years, but with how lit
Effect! how gross our Ignorance, how depra
our Manners, how little of Christianity in
Christian Nation! all serious Persons are s
sible of this, and some have not been want
to complain of it in suitable terms. "It cann
" be denied (says a great Man of the Es
" blish'd Church and a hearty Friend of t
" Reformation,) that universally the wh
" Nation is corrupted, and that the Gos
" has not had those Effects among us, th
" might have been expected, after so lo
" and free a course as it has had in th
" Island." *That it has not is sadly Evide*
he that doubts of this, either knows not w
Christianity is, or knows not what we are;
View of the state of Religion, as it now st
in many of the Parishes of England, *especi*
in Country Places would afford but a Melanch
Entertainment, to a serious Mind and ind

enough to give him an Horrour, not unlike
t, which Daniel had in his Vision, when he
nted, and was sick certain Days.

But I shan't take the liberty to pursue this
bject, tho' according to my first Intention, 'twas
have been the main Errand of this Preface.
urposed to have hinted at the chief Defects of
e Reformation to have suggested, what seems
st wanting, to strengthen and perfect it, to have
ched upon the most notorious Instances of our
rruption and Apostacy, and upon the necessary
leans, for the Recovery of real Religion, every
ere languishing and dying, in the Protestant
urches; but not knowing how any great Free-
m here might be interpreted, I shall forbear,
d leave these things to such as may say them,
th more Advantage, and to the inward Senti-
nts of such, as sigh for the Abominations done
the midst of us, and whose Souls weep in
ret places: In the mean time, hoping and
raying, that a Gracious God, who has watch-
over the Reformation so long, and with so
nder a care, that has so often rescued it, from
e jaws of destruction and pluck'd it as a Brand
t of the burning, will not after all give us up:
t that at length the Sun of Righteousness

shall

shall arise upon the Reform'd *Churches, mo*
fully, with healing in his Wings; that he will n
contend with us for ever, and draw out his a
ger to all Generations, but revive us again, th
Glory may dwell in our Land.

THE

CONTENTS.

THE *Scripture the only Rule of Faith; not Fathers, Creeds, Catechisms.* &c. p. 3

e Departure from this Rule, the Foundation of the Anti-Christian Apostacy. p. 6

urch-Men prefer'd, and the Church in a great Measure new Modell'd by Constantine. p. 9

e Ambition of the Clergy, especially of Rome. p. 15

for Excommunicates the Eastern *Churches, for not keeping* Easter *as he did.* p. 17

egrowing Apostacy of the Church, from the the sixth Century. p. 18

e gross Ignorance of the Clergy. p. 19

ndalous Lives both of Clergy and Laity. p. 21

he Vile Disipline of the Church after Popery

pery took place. Their Taxa Cameræ A
poſt. p. 2
The Scandals of their Religious Houſes
p. 2
Their Devices to enrich the Church, an
get the Treaſure of the World into it
p. 2
The horrid Principles of the Papiſts *wit*
Reference to Civil Government. p. 2
A Liſt of Princes depos'd by Popes. p. 3
Faith not to be kept with Hereticks. p. 3
Proteſtants to be deſtroyed by Catholicks, excep
in one Caſe, viz. *when the Catholicks ar*
not able to it. p. 3
The Waldenſes *Witneſſes againſt the Corrupt*
ons of Rome. p. 18, 3
Wickliff, John Huſs, *and* Jerom *of* Pragu
Witneſſes alſo; the two latter Burnt, an
Wickliff's *Bones burnt.* p. 37, 3
Reformation under King Henry VIII. p. 4
The Oppoſition of Popiſh Party to Tranſl
tion of the Bible in K. Henry VIII's *Tim*
p 4
Reformation under K. Edward VI. p. 4
Under Queen Elizabeth. p. 4
Heylin's *Glorious Picture of the Churc*
of England *in Queen* Elizabeth's *Tim*
p. 4
All Endeavours to carry the Reformation fu
ther rejected. p. 4
Remarks upon the Reformation, that it was
good Work, but not thought perfect by t

The CONTENTS.

Reformers, who accommodated themſelves in what they did, to the Prejudices of the People. p 53
The Riſe of Non Conformity. p. 55
The Diſputes at Frankfort. p. 56
The different State and Treatment of the Non-Conformiſts at ſeveral times. p. 60
The Letters of ſome of our Reformers to Foreign Divines, intimating their Diſlike of the Terms of Conformity. p. 64
Preſs'd more rigorouſly. p. 71
Hampton-Court *Conference.* p. 78
Book of Canons formed. p. 80
Book of Sports brought in by Laud. p. 83
Some Reflections about the Riſe and different ſtate of Non-Conformity. p. 87
The Defects of the Reformation. p. 93
Popiſh Principles *leading to the Deſtruction of* Proteſtants. p. 97
Pope's Bull of Excommunication againſt King Henry VIII. *and Queen* Elizabeth. p. 106
Plots in Henry VIII's *Reign.* p. 107
Plots in King Edward VI's *time.* p. 109
The Demands of the Plotters in behalf of Popery. p. 111
The Plots in Queen Elizabeth's *Reign.* p. 117
The Spaniſh *Armade.* p. 122
Plots under King James I. *to pervert him to their Religion, to exclude him,* &c. p. 123
Powder-Plot. p. 127
Prince Charles (*afterwards K.* Charles's) *Let-*

The CONTENTS.

Letter to the Pope. p. 132
Spaniſh *Match*; *Conditions agreed to* p. 134
The French *Match.* p. 141
King James's *Inclination to Popery, and free Declaration to the Arch Biſhop of* Embrun. p. 143
—— *His Inclination to Arbitrary Power.* p. 147
—— *His Hectoring of Parliaments.* p. 149
—— *And Raiſing Money without them.* p. 150
The fatal Popiſh Match with France *Conſummated.* p. 151
K. Charles I. *purſues the Maxims of his Fathers Reign.* p. 152
Diſſolves his Parliaments, and raiſes Money without them. p. 153
The Clergy fall in with theſe Arbitrary Meaſures. p. 154
The Parliament complain of Grievances in Civil Matters. p. 155
—— *And Religious.* p. 156
Upon which it was diſſolv'd, with a Threatning of no more Parliaments. p. 157
—— *Whereupon the Prerogative was uſed inſtead of Parliaments,* p. 159
Laud's *furious Conduct in Church-Matters* p. 162
The Conſecration of St. Catherine-Creed *Church.* p. 16[illegible]
Laud's *Tenderneſs to the Papiſts, and Severity to the Puritans.* p. 167, 16[illegible]

Hi

—*His Ingratitude to Biſhop* Williams. p. 169
Puritans driven out of the Land. ibid.
The Proſecution of Prynn, Baſtwick *and* Burton. p. 170
Afternoon-Sermons and Catechiſing put down. p. 173
Wakes defended, and Book of Sports reviv'd. p. 175, 176
Scotch *Liturgy prepared.* p. 177
Read *at* Edinburgh, *which occaſions great Diſturbance among the People.* p. 178
Book of Canons ſent to Scotland. p. 180
A War breaks out between the King and the Scots. p. 181
The Fall of Strafford *and* Laud p. 187
Articles againſt Laud. p. 189
King Charles *ſeems to relent, and makes Conceſſions for Peace.* p. 191
The Parliament dare not truſt him. p. 193
Iriſh *Maſſacre.* p. 194. *Vol: 2d. p. 80,—114.*
The Story of the Marquiſs of Antrim. p. 195 ..... *p. 114,—127.*
Things grow to Extremity between King and Parliament. p. 197
Five Members demanded. p. 198
Hull *ſhut up, and the King's* Standard *ſet up at* Nottingham. p. 200
Two Parliaments, one at Weſtminſter, *another at* Oxford. p. 202
King deliver'd up by the Scots. ibid.
——*Made Priſoner by the Army.* p. 203
Parliament and Army Quarrel. p. 204

The

The CONTENTS.

The Rump Vote against any further Treaty with the King, and attaint him. p. 204

A distinct Answer to the Question, who began the Civil Wars, and who cut off the King's Head. p. 205

Some Remarks on Oliver's *Government* p. 232

The Presbyterians *zealous for the Restoration* p. 228

Attempts for Union at the Restoration. p. 241

The Proposals of the Presbyterians *to that Purpose.* p. 243

King Charles's *Declaration, containing Terms of Union.* p. 245

Baxter's *Plot, contriv'd to introduce the Uniformity Act.* p. 250

Severities encreas'd against the Dissenters *in* England *and* Scotland. p. 256

K. Charles *sets up Arbitrary Power.* p. 259

Non-Resistance establish'd by Law. p. 261

K. Charles *a Pensioner of* France. p. 262

Dunkirk *sold.* ibid.

The Triple League given up. p. 264

A Quarrel pick'd with the Dutch. p. 266

Prince of Orange *made Stadtholder, an Instrument to save his Country and the Liberties of* Europe. p. 267

Confederacy between England *and* France *strengthen'd by the Duke of* York's *Marriage.* p. 271

Popery countenanc'd by the Duke's Means. ibid.

The

The CONTENTS.

The Parliament alarm'd with Fears of Popery. p. 272

Test Act, contriv'd to exclude Papists. p. 273

The Bill of Exclusion. p. 274

Duke of York caress'd in Scotland, and recommended to the Archbishop by the Episcopal Party, as the only Patron of their Cause. p. 280

Oxford Decree. p. 281

Quo Warranto's brought against Charters. p. 285

Russel's Plot. p. 286

The sham Ryehouse Plot. p. 287

The Newcastle young Men imprison'd for praying. p. 289

Whigs prosecuted, and severely fin'd. p. 291

King James conceals his Intention to destroy the Protestant Religion. p. 295

—His Declaration in Council. ibid.

Monmouth's Insurrection and Fall, with the Sufferings of Oats, Dangerfield, Johnson, &c. p. 297, 302

Mr. Baxter's Tryal for his Paraphrase on the New Testament. p. 303

King James sets up his dispensing Power. p. 305

The Scots zealously assert the King's Absolute Power, and assist him in the Exercise of it. p. 307

Tyrconnel's Methods to suppress the Protestant Religion in Ireland. p. 309

The Violence offer'd to the Protestants, with reference to their Liberties, Estates, Religion

gion and Lives. p. 317
The diſpenſing Power pleaded for by the Judges in England, *and Popery barefac'd.* p. 322
Church of England *Divines, their commendable Zeal againſt Popery, and the Reaſons why the Diſſenters wrote ſo little at that Time.* p. 324
King James's *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.* p. 327
An Apology for the Diſſenters Addreſſing on that Occaſion. ibid.
Proceedings againſt the Univerſities of Oxford *and* Cambridge. p. 329
Impriſoning the Biſhops. p. 331
Biſhops ſent to the Tower *and acquitted.* p. 332
The juſt Suſpicions about the Queen's great Belly. p. 333
The Nation in Extremity with one Voice cries to the Prince of Orange, *who undertakes their Deliverance, and happily ſucceeds.* p. 33[illegible]
Oppoſition to King William's *Government.* p. 33[illegible]
The Riſe of Jacobite Plots. p. 33[illegible]
Aſſaſſination-Plot. p. 34[illegible]
Meaſures enter'd into to reſtore King James *and* French *Fleet ſent to Sea for that Purpoſe, and beaten by the* Engliſh *at La Hogue.* p. 34[illegible]
The Invaſion and Aſſaſſination-Plot renew'd. p. 342
Sundry other Plots. p. 343, 34[illegible]

The

The CONTENTS.

he Death of King James, *and the Pretender proclaim'd King of* England *by the* French *King.* p. 351, 352

ing William's *Death, and the Triumphs of the Jacobites thereupon.* p. 353

deſign'd Invaſion in Scotland. p. 355

cotland invaded. p. 357

acobites violently oppoſe the Union, as cloſing the Door againſt the Pretender. p. 358

he Plots of the four laſt Years of Queen Anne. p. 370.

he Change of the Miniſtry, and the Expectation of our Enemies abroad from thence, being the firſt Step taken to bring in the Pretender. p. 371

he Hanover *Succeſſion arraign'd, and Hereditary-Right advanc'd as another Step.* p. 372

very great Coolneſs in the Miniſtry towards the Houſe of Hanover, *and a great Tenderneſs to the* Pretender. p. 377

he Peace Diſhonourable, Clandeſtine, bewail'd by the Friends of the Nation, and Matter of Triumph to its Enemies. p. 378

he Peace concluded in the midſt of Victory and Succeſs. p. 388

he Allies and the late Miniſtry accus'd, loaded with Reproach. p. 392

he trueſt Friends of the Nation and of the Succeſſion diſgrac'd, and all the Places of Power and Truſt fill'd by Jacobites. p. 398

—*All*

The CONTENTS.

—— *All their Measures broke, and the Ma-*
nagers left in Confusion, by the immediat
Hand of Heaven, August 1. p. 39
—— *After the Queen's Death, the same*
Party encourage Tumults, Mobs, and a
last take up Arms for the Pretender
p. 400
The Earl of Mar *sets up his Standard*
p. 402
——*His Declaration and Manifesto.* p 403 5
The same Party in England *prepare for an*
Insurrection, but disappointed in the West
p. 407
The Insurrection in Northumberland p. 408
The Design upon Newcastle. p. 410
Their March to Preston, *and Surrender there*
p. 411
The Battle at Dumblain. p. 412
The Arrival of the Pretender in Scotland
p. 413
The Debates at Perth. p. 415
The Flight of the Pretender from Scotland
p. 417
The Execution of the Earl of Derwentwater
p. 418
Remarkable Strokes of Providence in the whole
Series of National Deliverances. p. 420

A MEMORIAL OF THE Reformation AND *Britain*'s Deliverances, &c.

THE happy Settlement of theſe Nations (after ſo many and juſt Fears of a POPISH PRETENDER) under his Majeſty King *GEORGE*, a Proteſtant Prince, and a known Patron of the Rights of Mankind, is ſo *Eminent a Mercy*, conſider it in all its Circumſtances, that I can't but think it challenges a very ſpecial Regard. The deſign of this *Eſſay*, is to illuſtrate that Providence that herein we Adore: And that I may do it with more Advantage, I ſhall look a little back, and touch upon ſome Things of earlier Date.

ABOUT two Centuries ago, it pleaſed God to reſtore to theſe Nations their Sight and Feeling; to deliver us from the oppreſſive Yoke of the *Papacy*, a Yoke that neither we, nor our Fathers were able to bear; which I take to be one of the moſt Glorious Acts of that Providence towards us, which ſeems to delight in ſhowing us

Favour, and diſtinguiſhing us from our Neighbours round about. Ever ſince this memorable Period, our Enemies *have attempted* with a reſtleſs Malice again to enſlave us. Hiſtory is full of their *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*, their Inſurrections and Invaſions. They have left no Stone unturn'd, no Method uneſſay'd, whether of Fraud, or Force, by which they might accompliſh their Deſigns, and bring us back into Bondage.

MY buſineſs here will be to give the Reader a brief View of theſe Practices; to repreſent to him the many Engines, that have been us'd to deſtroy us; and the many kind Appearances of our God to Save us: In doing which, I wou'd humbly deſire to erect a Monument to the honour of our Great Deliverer; and tho' I don't pretend with the Art of an *Aholiab* or *Bezaleel*, to carve curious Work; however, I wou'd endeavour, in the beſt manner I can, to pay a ſmall Tribute of Praiſe, and ſet up an *EBEN-EZER* with this Inſcription, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.*

I am ſenſible, it wou'd be of ſome advantage to this Work, cou'd I take a Survey of *Popery*, and repreſent to the Reader the true State of the Chriſtian Religion, before the *Reformation*. This wou'd tend very much to recommend the Providence I am to deſcribe. *Popery* is really the greateſt Plague that can befall a People; worſe than Sword, Famine, and Peſtilence: Were theſe offer'd to our Choice, (as they were once to *David*'s) in Competition to *Popery*, we ſhou'd with Reaſon ſubmit to any of them, (if we underſtand what Popery is) rather than ſee our dear Country again Delug'd in the *Filth* and *Abominations* of *Rome*.

BUT

BUT I can't pretend in the preſent Diſcourſe, to handle this Subject, and therefore muſt refer the Reader to ſuch Treatiſes where 'tis deſignedly done already. I ſhan't however wholly paſs it over; but ſhall, the better to introduce what I intend, ſay ſomething, tho' very briefly, touching the Corruption of Religion, under the *Papacy*: Show how the Defection began, and how it advanc'd, till *Popery* was ſettled in the World.

The Scripture the only Rule of Faith.

I ſcarce need tell any one that's call'd a *Proteſtant*, and deſerves that Name, that the Chriſtian Religion is intirely contain'd in the Writings of the Old and New Teſtament; here's the Canon, the Rule, the *only Rule* of Faith and Practice: *We are* * *built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets; other Foundations can no Man lay*; Shou'd *even an Angel from Heaven* endeavour herein to unſettle us, † and preach another Goſpel, we pronounce him *Accurs'd*: And as the Chriſtian and Proteſtant Religion are one, (the latter being but a Revival of, or Return to the former) ſo they muſt neceſſarily have the ſame Foundation.

* *Eph.* 2. 20.

† *Gal.* 1. 8.

THIS is *the Rule*, the compleat and the only Rule to Chriſtians, to Proteſtants, containing all things neceſſary to be Believ'd and Practis'd; the Judge of Controverſies; the Standard to which we muſt appeal, in our Diſputes about Articles of Faith; and by which our Doctrines muſt be meaſur'd.

I add, as the Scripture is *the Rule*, ſo every Man muſt judge of its meaning for himſelf, (taking in all the Help he can, both Divine and Humane) otherwiſe it wou'd be no Rule to him: And I ſtick not to ſay, this is the Grand Article of *Proteſtantiſm*, which we can never forſake without giving up our Cauſe, and falling back

again into all the Abſurdities of Implicite Faith, and blind Obedience.

THIS I think demonſtrable, that if we ſet up any Men, or Order of Men, as the *Authoritative Expoſitors* of Scripture, ſo as to depend wholly on them, for its Senſe, and acquieſce without inquiry, in their Determinations; we hereby abſolutely deliver our Selves into their Power; we make 'em *Lords of our Faith*; and indeed make the Scripture more the Word of Men than the Word of God.

IT was the Miſtake of the *Jews* in this Particular, that ruin'd both them and their Religion. Their Doctors had rais'd their Power to an extravagant height, as is implied in the Advice of *Gamaliel*, "That the Ignorant ſhould get them-"ſelves Rabbies, that they might no longer "doubt any thing. In ſhort, they ſet up for a kind of Infallibility, and aſſum'd to themſelves a *Dictator*'s Power in Religion: To them it belong'd to give the Senſe of the Law, (*i. e.* to put what Senſe they pleas'd upon it) nor were the People at liberty to differ from 'em, or to believe otherwiſe than they taught them: He that Teaches any thing (and for the ſame reaſon, that Believes any thing) he has not heard from his *Rabbi*, provokes the Divine Majeſty to depart from *Iſrael*, ſays one of their Guides *.

* Rab. Eliæ *Vid.* Dr *Whitby* on *Matth.* 23. 8.

AND hence probably 'twas, that their Gloſſes upon the Law, and Reſolutions of Caſes of Conſcience, were call'd *Looſing and Binding*; the Phraſe generally us'd in the *Talmud:* When they declar'd this or that Lawful, they *Loos'd, i. e.* you had your liberty to do it: When it ſeem'd otherwiſe to their Wiſdom, and they thought fit to declare it Unlawful, then they *Bound, i. e.* tied you up, and laid you under Reſtraint: And this they did, in a thouſand Inſtances, when

there

here was no other reaſon for it, but their own Caprice and Humour.

WHAT Senſe our Lord had of the Encroachments of theſe Doctors, and what care he has taken, to prevent every thing of this Nature, in his Church for the future, may be learn'd from that caution; *Be not ye therefore call'd Rabbi, for one is your Maſter, even Chriſt; and all ye are Brethren; and call no Man Father upon Earth*, &c. He won't allow in his Church any ſuch *Rabbi*'s as theſe, with Authority in Matters of Faith. Chriſt is the great Prophet, *whom we are to hear in all things*; he's our *Maſter in Heaven*; whoſe Dictates are a Law to us, and muſt be receiv'd without diſputing them: But if others teach us any thing, we are to call 'em to the common Standard, and try 'em by the *written Word*; and not blindly ſubmit to their Authority, thereby pinning our Faith on their Sleeve. *Mat.* 23. 8, 9, 10. *Matth.* 17. 5.

BUT does not Chriſt ſay of theſe very Men (the Scribes and Phariſees) *that they Sit in Moſes's Seat*, and that *whatever* they bid us obſerve, that we muſt obſerve and do: But ſurely this muſt not be ſuppos'd to ſignify that an Implicite Obedience was due to 'em; for if ſo, how came Chriſt himſelf to contradict 'em, and to caution his Followers, to beware of their Leaven, (*i. e.* their Doctrine?) How comes he to call them *Blind Leaders* of the Blind, and cenſure 'em as making void the Commandments of God, by their Traditions? Nay further; If they were to be obey'd *in all things*, the People ſinn'd not even in Crucifying the Son of God, perſecuting and murdering his Followers; for this was according to the Command of theſe Expoſitors of the Law, the Doctors that ſate in *Moſes* his Chair: So that the *All* things whatſoever *Mat.* 23. 2, 3. *Matth.* 16. *Mat.* 15. 6.

ſoever, (as Dr. *Whitby* obſerves from *Theophilact.*) muſt mean no more than this, *That whatever they requir'd from the Books of* Moſes, *or the Law of God, they muſt obſerve and do*; So that the Conſequence is plain, that they were not to follow them Blindfold; but muſt try their Doctrine, and compare it with the Law, that they might know whether to receive or reject it.

THE Canon of the Scripture is now inlarg'd to us Chriſtians, but 'tis *finiſh'd* and ſeal'd up, and muſt remain the *only Rule*, without Addition, Diminution, or being ſubject to Alteration for ever, by a leſs Power than that which at firſt gave it.

NOR are there any Rabbi's left on Earth, with the Authority of Binding and Looſing, further than they can prove Chriſt and his Apoſtles have Bound and Loos'd, and what they offer for this purpoſe, every one is to judge of, otherwiſe he does not behave as a reaſonable Creature, much leſs a Diſciple of the Lord Jeſus.

2. THE Fathers of the three firſt Centuries are not our *Rule*, nor Authoritative Expoſitors of it, (tho' we reverence their Writings on many accounts) any more than they of the 5th, 6th, and 7th Centuries, *&c.* General Councils, Aſſemblies, Convocations, *&c.* are neither our *Rule*, nor have they Authority to expound it. (Such Authority I mean, as all muſt be determin'd by.) Creeds, Catechiſms, Canons, Confeſſions or Articles of Faith, drawn up, and agreed upon, by this or that Church, are not our *Rule*: Theſe are all ſubordinate to Scripture, and of no value, but as they are grounded upon it, and accord with it: And indeed are no more, but Declarations how ſuch and ſuch Men (all fallible, and in many things no doubt partial, and prejudic'd)

prejudic'd) met at *Epheſus*, at *Nice*, at *Weſtminſter*, &c. underſtood the Scripture in the Particulars they had before 'em. And he that acts as a Chriſtian, and according to the Laws of his Diſcipleſhip, and with due regard to the *Rabbi in Heav'n*, will † examine what they ſay (as far as capable) by the Rule of the Scripture.

† I would not be underſtood as if I thought all things in the Bible were obvious to every Reader, and upon a Level with every Capacity, as if Expoſitions were of no Uſe, or all the Members of the Church qualified to be Expoſitors for themſelves. Things abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation, 'tis granted, are plain and eaſie; but it can't be denied there are δυσνόητα, things hard to be underſtood; not only in *Paul*'s Epiſtles, but in other parts of Scripture, with reſpect to which moſt will find like the *Ethiopian* Eunuch, *Acts* 8. 31. that they want a Guide: Few have the neceſſary preparations of humane Learning, ſufficient leiſure, &c. for ſearching into the abſtruſer points of the Bible; They are oblig'd to take many things upon Truſt, or be wholly ignorant of them. Nor is there any Remedy for this, that I know of, except a new Inſpiration: So that tho' Catechiſms, Creeds, Expoſitions, &c. are no part of our Rule, they are however (ſome of 'em at leaſt) uſeful in their place; nor can I ſee but the ſame Credit is due to a Learned Interpreter, and judicious Divine in matters of Divinity, eſpecially the more critical Articles of it, as we give to a Lawyer or Phyſician in their ſeveral Profeſſions: If it be ſaid, that every one is bound to know ſomething of Divinity himſelf, his Salvation depends upon it; whereas 'tis not neceſſary he ſhould Study Law or Phyſick: I anſwer, 'tis granted he muſt know the Fundamental Points, but even in theſe he'll be the better for a good Inſtructor: And as to many other things he's under a Neceſſity of depending upon his Teachers: Nor are the main Body of Chriſtians much better qualified to be Expoſitors of the Bible, then Pleaders at the Bar: Two Extremes are here to be avoided, on the one hand *the Setting up of Rabbies*, and calling any one Father on Earth: *The Churches having Authority in Matters of Faith*, is an Expreſſion groſs enough. On the other hand, a Contempt or Neglect of the Miniſtry of the Church, by which a great many valuable Truths have been handed down to us. Shou'd all our Catechiſms, Creeds, Expoſitions be deſtroy'd, and the Bible be put naked into every ones hand, without any of the Helps we have now to underſtand it, I'm perſwaded we ſhou'd find our ſelves carried many Degrees backward, and be at a loſs in many particulars of Importance; wherein our Free-thinkers cou'd make us but little help. I wou'd be a Slave to no Catechiſm, Council or Expoſitors, wou'd not make them my Rule; but I muſt thankfully accept all the Aſſiſtance they afford, for underſtanding the Rule.

BUT the four firſt General Councils are receiv'd by all Proteſtants, *&c.* Receiv'd, how? Not by any in their Wits, as the *Rule of Faith*, or part of it. They have in 'em ſome things true, ſome things probable only, and no queſtion, ſome things falſe; and whether they be true or falſe, (in points of Faith I mean) Scripture muſt determine.

WELL, this is the *Chriſtian's, the Proteſtant's Rule of Faith:* I am now to add; It was the departing from this Rule, and ſetting up an exorbitant Power in the Church, and in the Paſtors of it, (*viz.* to declare the Senſe of Scripture, to make new Laws, Preſcriptions, *&c.* not found in the Scripture) that led on the great Apoſtacy, and help'd *Antichriſt* up to his Throne, where he has ſate ſwelling in his Pride, for about a thouſand Years.

IT wou'd be eaſy to prove that the Power which Chriſt left with his Church, and the Governours of it, is wholly *Miniſterial.* Their buſineſs is to aſſiſt People in underſtanding this Rule, and living according to it; which is ſo great, ſo extenſive, ſo important a Work, that they need not ſeek for other Imployment: They have enough to do to enforce the Laws of Chriſt, and exerciſe the Diſcipline he has appointed; without making new Laws, or deviſing a new Diſcipline: And, oh! how well, how happy had it been for the Church, had the Biſhops, and Miniſters of it, with Zeal and Diligence, attended to this, as their proper Province, without diverting to foreign Matters: Hereby they wou'd have procur'd more Reverence to themſelves, and eſteem of their Office. And indeed 'tis ſcarce poſſible, that an Office ſo uſeful as this; ſo beneficial to Mankind; ſo ſerviceable to their higheſt and greateſt Intereſts; ſhou'd ever fall into Contempt, when the Duties

of

f it, are in any good measure fulfill'd. But to eturn from this Digression.

IT was, I say, *a Departure from the only Rule* The Rise of Apostacy in the Church. *f Faith*, and raising the Power of the Church oo high, that began the Antichristian Apostacy, nd laid the Foundation of *Babel*, that *Great ity*, that made all Nations drink of the Wine f the Wrath of her Fornication. *Rev.* 14. 8.

'TIS sufficiently known, that when the Chri- tian Religion was establish'd by humane Laws, nd the Church, from being persecuted by a Suc- ession of *Pagan Emperors*, came under the Pro- ection of the renowned *Constantine*, no small Change was made in the State and Government f it.

THAT Prince being educated in Paganism, nd having observ'd the Pomp of the Pagan Worship, and the excessive Honours paid to their Pontiffs; thought fit to *imitate them*; partly to how his Zeal for the Christian Religion, partly to take off the Prejudices the Pagans had against it.

HENCE came the *Magnificence* and Splendor of their Temples. *Eusebius* * observes, that the former Structures which had been demolish'd (in the time of Persecution) were little and mean, but the new were *Spacious*, *Sumptuous* and *Splendid*. He took particular care to † Grace the chief Cities with stately Oratories; especially *Constantinople*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*: In the last of which, he built a most Magnificent Temple, in the place of *Christ's* Sepulchre, and another Sacred Oratory, in honour of the Cross, and a third at the Foot of the Mount, where Christ ascended into Heav'n.

* Hist. Eccles. lib. 10. cap. 2.

† Euseb. Vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 24. ad 57.

AND that nothing might be wanting, for the Glory of the Christian Worship, and Churches, he appoints a Solemn *Consecration* of 'em, as

the

the Pagans had of their Temples. * *Eusebius* gives this account of the Dedication of one of the Churches newly erected at *Jerusalem*. " The " Emperor call'd a very great number of Bishops " out of all the Provinces: These being met at " *Tyre*, receiv'd the Imperial Letters to hasten " to *Jerusalem*, whither they were carried at " the Publick Charge: Several of the Imperial " Ministers were order'd to attend the Solem- " nity, and to Grace the Festival, at the Empe- " ror's Expence. The Ministers of God adorn'd " the Festival; some by Preaching and Prayer; " others by Panegyrick Orations, in commen- " dation of the Emperor's Piety, and the Mag- " nificence of the Building; Others by reading " and expounding the Holy Scriptures: Others " implor'd the favour of God by unbloody Sacri " fices, and mystical Sacred Actions, and of- " fer'd up Prayers for the Publick Peace, for the " Church of God, for the Emperor the Author " of so many Blessings, and for his pious Chil- " dren. Thus was the Solemnity of the Con- " secration celebrated with great Rejoycings in " the Emperor's Thirtieth year.

* Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. cap. 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, &c. See a fuller account of this, and some Re- flections upon it, in Mr. *Owen*'s History of Conse- cration of Altars, pag. 44.

Excessive Honours conferr'd on the Clergy.

THE Clergy in the mean time, had all the Marks of Distinction imaginable. He directed Letters to the Bishops by name, says *Eusebius*, and gave 'em Honours, and large Sums of Mo- ney. They were made Arbitrators in Cases of Difference among the People; which, as 'twas practis'd whilst the Empire was generally *Hea- then*, to prevent going to Law before Pagan Tribunals, according to that of the Apostle; So 'twas afterwards continu'd, for the greater Dig- nity of their Office. *Eusebius* * tells us, *Constan- tine* made a Law, to confirm all such Decisions of the Bishops in their Consistories, and that no Secular Judges shou'd have any Power to reverse 'em,

1 *Cor.* 6. 4.

* De vita Constant. lib. 4. cap. 27.

ſem, in as much as the Prieſts of God were to be prefer'd before any other Judge. Another Hiſtorian ſays, he gave leave to all Litigants to refer their Cauſe to the Determination of Biſhops, whoſe Sentence ſhou'd ſtand good, and be as Authentick as if it had been the Deciſion of the Emperor himſelf, and that the Governors of every Province, and their Officers, ſhou'd be oblig'd to put their Decrees in Execution. *Sozomon* Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 9.

HIGH ſwelling Titles, it may be not ſo becoming the Preachers of the Croſs, were given the Biſhops. And it ſeems, 'twas eſteem'd ſo great a Priviledge to have their Benediction, that even Emperors receiv'd it, *bowing the Head.* Kings and Princes, ſays *Ambroſe*, did not diſdain to bend and bow their Necks to the Knees of the Prieſts, and to Kiſs their Hands, thinking themſelves protected by their Prayers. De Dignitate ſacerd. cap. 2.

THE Power and Juriſdiction of the Biſhops was very much extended at the ſame time, and ſome of 'em rais'd to a vaſt Superiority over others of the ſame Order, even to the Degree of Metropolitans and Patriarchs. The Occaſion of this Change, was an Humor that took 'em, of ſetting the external Polity of the Church, after the Model of the Civil Government. The Church model'd after the Manner of the Empire

" The whole *Roman* Empire, ſays Dr. *Cave*, con- " ſiſted of Thirteen Dioceſſes, (for ſo they be- " gan to ſtile thoſe large Diviſions about the " Time of *Conſtantine.*) In each of thoſe Dio- " ceſſes, were ſeveral Provinces, (118 in all) " the chief City whereof, in every Province, " was the *Metropolis*, that had a kind of Juriſ- " diction over all the reſt; both Title and Dig- " nity, being peculiary ſettled by Imperial Con- " ſtitutions. Now the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical " Juriſdiction were concurrent, after this man- " ner. In every City, there was a Civil Judge, " who Ancient Church Government. *pag.* 31, &c.

" who preſided over it, and the Towns about it:
" And to him anſwer'd the *Biſhop* of that Ci-
" ty. In every Province, a *Proconſul* or *Preſi-*
" *dent* reſided at the Metropolis, govern'd that
" whole Diviſions, receiv'd Appeals, and de-
" termin'd all important Caſes, brought before
" him from the inferior Cities. Correſpondent
" to him was the *Metropolitan*, or (as they af-
" ter call'd him) the Arch-Biſhop, whoſe See
" was in the ſame City, who Superintended
" the ſeveral Churches, and ordain'd the ſeve-
" ral Biſhops within his Province; and then in
" every Dioceſs (or large Diviſion of the Em-
" pire) there was a *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant, who
" kept his Reſidence in the Principal City,
" thence diſpatch'd the Imperial Edicts, and
" there heard and decided thoſe Cauſes, that
" were not finally determin'd by Inferiour
" Courts; and concurrent with him in Eccleſi-
" aſtical Matters, was the *Primate*, or (as ſome
" of 'em were more eminently ſtil'd) the *Patri-*
" *arch*, who preſided over the ſeveral Metropo-
" litans within that Dioceſs, appointed the Con-
" ventions of his Clergy, umpir'd the Differ-
" ences that aroſe between the ſeveral Biſhops,
" gave the Determination to all Appeals brought
" before him: And thus (adds he) by an *or-*
" *derly Subordination* of Deacons, and Presby-
" ters to their Biſhops; of Biſhops to their
" immediate Metropolitans, of Metropolitans
" to their reſpective Primates or Patriarchs;
" and by a mutual Correſpondence, between
" the ſeveral Primates of every Dioceſs, the
" Affairs of the Chriſtian Church were carried
" on with great Decorum and Regularity.

THE Dr. (pag. 82.) owns, that this was a *Human Contrivance*; (as no Man in his ſober Senſes can deny) he ſeems indeed, not a little pleas'd with

with it; he calls it a *wiſe Contrivance*: But *how wiſe* it was, the Church by this time, has had a ſufficient Experience. This is certain, that it notably ſerv'd the Ambition and Uſurpation of aſpiring Clergy-Men, and gave no ſmall encouragement to the Uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome*. *pag.* 141.

HE himſelf has a Remark to this Purpoſe, "The mighty Reputation, (ſays he) "which the Synod of *Nice* had given to *Metropolitans*, and eſpecially to the particular Sees of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. "This inſpir'd them with an ambitious Affectation, of extending their Superiority, and "Juriſdiction; and prepar'd the Way among "their Brethren for the eaſier Reception of it. "The Synod of *Nice* was beheld by all, with a "juſt regard and veneration, and it's Decrees "receiv'd as Oracles from Heaven: And the "Chriſtian World, finding what particular Care "it had taken of thoſe three great Sees, were "the more ready to ſubmit, and ſtrike Sail to "*Uſurpations*; hence, ſays he, the following "Popes, but eſpecially *Leo* the Firſt, do upon "all Occaſions magnify the *Nicene Canons* &c." Vid. Can. 6.

And who can behold and not bewail the unhappy Conduct of the Clergy under their Preferments, the wretched Spirit of Faction and Contention, that prevail'd among them, eſpecially in their Synods, which did not a little diſparage their Office, and ſully the Glory of the Chriſtian Profeſſion; No ſooner were they deliver'd from the Hands of their Enemies, but they began to fall foul on one another, which the good Emperor ſaw with regret, and attempted to heal it, how affectionately and pathetically did he Addreſs 'em, when met at the Council of *Nice*? "I intreat you, "ſays he, beloved Miniſters of God, and Servants

"of

" of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, take away the Cauſe " of your Diſſention and Diſagreement; eſtabliſh " Peace among your ſelves:" And 'tis ſaid, he burnt the Letters they had wrote, one againſt another, (with ſo much ſeverity and bitterneſs) that ſuch Matter of Strife, and ſuch Monuments of their Infirmity, might not remain to diſgrace 'em.

BUT all his Endeavours were to little Purpoſe. They ſet themſelves to diſpute about abſtruſe and ſublime Points of Faith, with Zeal and *Strictneſs*; and proceeded to eſtabliſh their own Opinions, upon ſevere Penalties againſt ſuch as wou'd not ſubmit to 'em; who in their Turn (when Opportunity offer'd) took care to be even with 'em, and retaliate the Injuries they thought they receiv'd; hence Councils againſt Councils, Canons againſt Canons, with Anathema's, Confiſcations, Impriſonments, Deprivations, burning of Books, *&c.* This was too often the Iſſue of their Councils, inſomuch that *Gregory Nazianzen*, from a juſt † Reſentment of ſuch Proceedings, took up a Reſolution not to be concern'd in any Meetings of the Clergy; giving this Reaſon for it, that he never ſaw any good come of 'em.

AND now it was, that their Zeal began to ſpend it ſelf upon Rites and Ceremonies borrow'd* from

† Sic ſentio ſi verum ſcribendum eſt, omnes Conventus Epiſcoporum fugiendos eſſe, quia nullius ſynodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis ſolutionem malorum, quam incrementum; nam cupiditates contentionum & gloriæ (ſed ne putes me odioſum iſta ſcribentem) vincunt rationem. *Greg.* Naz. Epiſt. ad Procopium.

* *Baronius* acknowledges, that many Things have been laudably tranſlated from Gentile Superſtition into the Chriſtian Religion; Annal. ad an. 58. he adds, what Wonder, if the moſt Holy Biſhops, have granted that the antient Cuſtoms of Gentiles, ſhou'd be introduc'd into the Worſhip of the true God, from which it ſeem'd impoſſible to take of many, tho' converted to Chriſtianity: And *Cornelius Agrippa*, de vanit. Scient. having mention'd ſeveral Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, with Reference to Veſtments, Lights, Bells,

from the *Gentiles*, and which were multiply'd to that degree, that *Auſtin* complains in his Time, that they were *leſs tolerable than the Yoke of the Jews under the Law*: One Reaſon for this Complaiſance, was the better to win upon their Heathen Neighbours. They wou'd take as many of their Rites and Cuſtoms into the Church, as they thought conſiſtent with the Chriſtian Religion, that they themſelves might be the more eaſily induc'd to follow; but their Policy prov'd a Miſchief to themſelves, and a Snare to Succeeding Ages. Epiſt. 19.

AND how notorious was the Ambition of the Clergy? Their Contention for Preferment in the Church, and for Preheminence one above another; in their reſpective Sees? That Strife that Chriſt once rebuk'd in his Diſciples, *who ſhou'd be greateſt*, was now every Day to be ſeen; the Effects of which were very Inglorious to themſelves, and uncomfortable to the Church. The Pride and Ambition of the Clergy.

I might obſerve, this was eſpecially evident in the Church of *Rome*. The Spirit of *Diotrephes* early appear'd in the Biſhops of that Church: An Heathen Hiſtorian remarks, that the Biſhops of *Rome* were richly clad, carried in Litters, and profuſe in their Feaſting: They affected a Dominion beyond the Bounds of Prieſt-hood, ſays *Socrates*, and began to exerciſe ſecular Power and Authority. *Baſil* obſerving this, expreſſes himſelf with ſome Warmth and Indignation; Amian. Marcel. lib. 27. Hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 11.

Geſtures, Organs, &c. He adds, *Quorum magna pars (Euſeb. Teſte) ab Ethnicis, in noſtram quoque Religionem, migravit.* A great part of which (as *Euſebius* witneſſeth) hath been taken from Heathens, and receiv'd into our Religion. *Binnius* extolling the Munificence of *Conſtantine* towards the Chriſtians, takes Notice of his *Superſtitionis Gentiliæ juſta Æmulatio*; as he calls it, his juſt Emulation of Gentile Superſtition. Concil. Tom. 7. notæ in Donat. *Conſtan. pag.* 313.

I hate, says he, *the* † *Pride of that Church.* There was something of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, working betimes in the *Roman* Prelates: *Antichrist* gave early Intimation where he design'd to fix his Seat. I shall mention one Instance of some Hundreds that might be given to the same Purpose, as a Specimen.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 29. 22, 23.

A Dispute happening between the Eastern and Western Churches, about keeping Easter. This Important Affair occasion'd no little Squabble; the Western Churches, particularly that of *Rome*, were for keeping it on the Lord's Day, pretending a Tradition from *St. Peter*. The Eastern Churches will by all means conform to the Jews, and keep the Feast on the 14th of the Moon of *March*, the Day appointed for the Passover, which they did on pretence of a Tradition receiv'd from *St. John*. Both Sides contended fiercely for their Opinion; nor cou'd either of 'em recede an Ace from it, being supported by so good Authority.

Contest about keeping Easter.

AT last *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, thinks fit to interpose, and takes upon him to determine the Matter, requiring all other Churches, to conform to the Custom of his own Church; and because the World had not then learnt to bow down to the *Infallible Chair*; nor knew of any Universal Sovereignty set up at *Rome*; they

† Dr. *Geddes*, in his Essay on the *Roman Pontificate*, supposes that the proud City of *Rome* inspir'd her Bishops with a Thought of it's being reasonable, that *on her Account*, they shou'd be to Christians what her *Pontifex maximus* was to the Heathens; and he endeavours to prove, that out of the Ruins of the *Heathen Pontificate*, rose the *papal Pontificate* in that City: And St. *Jerom* and St. *Polinus*, both of 'em assert, that Pride, Ambition, Envy, Avarice, and Luxury, at the time when the *Heathen Pontificate* was dissolv'd, was as rampant in the Bishops and Clergy of *Rome*, as ever they had been before in any Order of Men in that proud City; for which Reason, *Jerom* calls *Rome* Christian, *the Spiritual Babylon*. *Gedde*'s Posthumous Tracts, *p.* 68.

refus'd

refus'd to comply with him, notwithſtanding his Admonitions and Threats; whereupon, the proud Man rages againſt them, denounces his Anathema's, and ſolemnly Excommunicates the Biſhops of the Eaſt. Behold here an Intimation, and Preſage of what might in time be expected thence; and the End was anſwerable to the Beginning; for who needs be inform'd? that the ſame Spirit reign'd in many of his Succeſſors, and poſſeſs'd 'em more and more; till at laſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, from being a vigilant Paſtor to a ſingle Congregation, over whom he was ſet, and among whom he labour'd; preaching to 'em, praying with 'em, and for 'em, and Teaching from Houſe to Houſe; ſerving the Lord with all Humility, and many Tears, and Temptations that befel him; from ſuch a one, he grew up to that haughty Sovereign, that Swaggers over Kings and Emperors; *to our Lord God the Pope.* But I muſt not run out upon theſe Things, and ſhall only remark that 'twas, during this State of Proſperity, Religion got it's firſt Wound. When *Conſtantine* began to heap Preferments and Honours, in the manner he did, upon the Church, ſome that foreſaw the Danger are ſaid to have brought in a Voice from Heaven to proclaim it in theſe Words, *Hodie venenum funditur in Eccleſiam*; Now the Church is poiſon'd; which alas! prov'd a true Prophecy. During the ten raging Perſecutions, it flouriſh'd like the Palm-Tree under its Oppreſſions; but cou'd not ſo well bear the Temptations on the other Side. " The Proſperity of the Church " prov'd fatal to her, (ſays the Hiſtorian,) open'd " the Gates of the Sanctuary to Corruption, " and infatuated many of her Teachers with " Envy, Malice and Ambition." She continued no longer a chaſte Virgin, but was corrupted

from the Simplicity that is in Chriſt. Religion began to loſe it's inward Power, which in vain they attempted to ſupply, with outward Form and Pomp. After the Church (ſays *Jerom*) had Chriſtian Magiſtrates, She was *fuller of Riches, but emptier of Virtue*; and 'twas not long before, there was too much Reaſon, for the ſevere Remark, that *when the Church had Golden Calicies, it had Wooden Prieſts.*

Vita Malach.

The growing Apoſtacy of the Church.

'TIS certain, from the Sixth Century, the Defection (begun before) went on apace. A Learned and Candid Papiſt, ſays of the Writers of the 4th and Fifth Centuries, "That they were like great "Lights, whoſe Meridian Splendor dark'ned "the little Luſtre, and diſcover'd the great De- "fects of the Sixth and following Centuries: he adds, "The Guſt of the Times began to be "deprav'd; Men pleas'd themſelves with ſtart- "ing a great many unprofitable Queſtions, and "diſputing with dogmatical Stiffneſs, about "things of ſmall Conſequence; too great Cre- "dulity began to poſſeſs the Minds of the more "Learned; ſcarce any thing was then heard of "but Miracles, Viſions, and Apparitions. The "Churches Riches began to be Burthenſome to "it; Conteſts and Canvaſſings for obtaining "Biſhopricks were very common, and many "were promoted to 'em, who had neither "Knowledge, Merit, nor Capacity.

Dupins Advertiſ. to Hiſt. of 6th Century.

Baronius confeſſes, few in *Italy* were then (*viz.* in the Sixth Century) skill'd both in *Greek* and *Latin*: Nay, their *Gregory* himſelf, call'd the *Great* (for his Eminency amongſt his Contemporaries) acknowledges he was Ignorant of the *Greek.*

Annat. ad An. 1593.

Nos nec Græcum novimus Epiſt. 69.

IN the Seventh Century they ſunk ſtill lower, as is evident from the Writings of thoſe Times. Moſt Profound and Inſtructive is that precious

Piece

Piece of *Moſchus*, (St. *Moſchus*, if you will) call'd his *Spiritual Meadow*, where he tells many fine Stories; as of two Angels ſtanding God-fathers to a Child; of Baptizing with Sand; of the *Holy Ghoſt*'s coming down in a viſible Shape on the Altar, upon the Prieſt's pronouncing the Words of Conſecration.

AND what ſhall we ſay of the Conduct of *St. Auſtin the Monk*, when imploy'd in converting the *Britton*'s; the Zeal he diſcover'd, and the Pains he took to ſettle the *Sacerdotal Tonſure*, and the Time of keeping Eaſter (which were the two great Points he labour'd) could not but create him a Reverence ſuitable to his high Miſſion and Character; and gives us a very Auguſt Opinion of the Wiſdom and Religion of that Age.

ONE Queſtion I can't but mention, which the *Great Auſtin*, ſent to the no leſs *Great Gregory*, for Reſolution, *viz. Si prægnans mulier Baptizari debet?* If a Woman with Child might be Baptiz'd? he concluded, that when ſhe was in Child-bed, ſhe was undoubtedly Unclean, according to the Levitical Law, and conſequently diſqualify'd for Baptiſm; but whether her being Prægnant render'd her polluted; in this reſpect, 'twou'd ſeem it puzl'd his Noddle. And in ſuch Speculations as this, their more ſublime Doctors imploy'd themſelves: Many a one has trotted to *Rome*, ('tis pity but they ſhou'd have gone bare-foot) with a Caſe not more Important than that which *Amalarius* diſcuſſes, *viz.* whether it was lawful to ſpit immediately after the Sacrament?

THIS was the State of Things, from the Sixth through the following Centuries, only worſe and worſe; for we may obſerve, Apoſtacy is generally like the Deſcent of heavy Bodies, with a

Swiftneſs perpetually increaſing. The main Qualifications of the Clergy, were that they ſhou'd be able to read well, ſing their Mattins, know the Lord's Prayer, Pſalter, Forms of Exorciſm, and underſtand how to compute the Times of their Sacred Feſtivals: Nor were they very ſufficient for this, if we may believe the Account ſome have given of 'em. *Muſculus* ſays, that many of 'em never ſaw the Scriptures in all their Lives; it wou'd ſeem incredible, but 'tis deliver'd by no leſs Authority than *Amama*'s, that an Arch-biſhop of *Mentz*, lighting upon a Bible, and looking into it, expreſs'd himſelf thus; "Of a Truth, I don't "know what Book this is; but I perceive every "Thing in it is againſt us." In ſhort, both Clergy and Laity were delug'd in Ignorance. We have their *Eſpencæus*, confeſſing that an "Egyptian Darkneſs continued in all the Weſtern "World, till a few years before the *Reformation*." Nor was it like to be otherwiſe, when the Prieſt's Lips, which ſhou'd have preſerv'd Knowledge, brought it into Contempt; the *Holy Bible* was under Diſgrace, Ignorance cry'd up as the *Mother of Devotion*; nay, the very Fountains of Inſtructions, were in a great Meaſure ſhut up; witneſs that Order of *Gregory* the Firſt, (good Man) that the *Brittons* ſhou'd have no ‡ Schools, only Monaſteries, *for fear of Hereſies*.

THE School-Men, 'tis granted, made a Show of Learning, and Reaſoning, as if they wou'd have retriev'd things a little; but their Learning was *Counterfeit*, and imploy'd not ſo much to Reform the Church, as to put a Colour upon it's Errors and Superſtitions, by nice and ſubtil

‡ So *Paul* II. uſed to call Schloars *Hereticks*, and exhorted the *Romans* not to ſuffer their Children to go to School too long, nor cou'd he endure the Name of an Academy. (Platina in vita ejus.)

Di-

Distinctions, and the help of a little more *Sophistry* than some that went before 'em, were Masters of; *Erasmus* sticks not to say, That even in this Age of the School-Men, Barbarism overspread Christendom: The liberal Arts and learned Tongues were not studied; the Latin was embas'd, and Antiquity slighted; and that the sum and substance of their Learning, was reduced to certain Sophistical Subtilities; and was the Possession and Management of the *Summists*, *Quodlibetists*, and such like Wranglers: He adds, That the Bishops and Pastors affected a kind of secular and profane Jurisdiction, more than the Execution of their Spiritual Function.

Epist. ad Archiep. Eboracens.

Ad sophisticas quasdam argutias, & erat penes summularios, &c.

INDEED all relish and sense of Religion, was in a great Measure lost; that little which remain'd amongst 'em, if it may be call'd Religion, mostly lay in childish Fopperies, and unmanly Superstitions: Their Divinity ran upon Visions, Prodigies, Deliverance from Purgatory by the Prayers of the Monks, exorcising the Devil, Miraculous Power of the Sign of the Cross, &c. Even the better sort (says *Cassander*) plac'd the sum and Substance of their Religion in searching out Reliques, and adorning them.

AND for the Morals, both of Priests and People, they were so gross and scandalous, that it wou'd foul the Paper to display 'em: *Baluzius* says, of the Bishops of the Eighth Century, that they spent the whole Day and good part of the Night in Feasting and Revelling; and having patter'd or rather stammer'd over their Offices, between Sleep and Wake, Drunk and Sober, they tumbled into Bed; in the Morning whilst dressing, they yawn'd out a few Prayers, (*Pensum servitutis suæ desidiosè persolventes*) and so to their Cups and Pleasures again; and that the Matter is not much mended since, is notorious enough from

The ill Morals of the Clergy.

Spanheim's Hist Cent. 8. cap. 3. sub finem.

Quod toto die Conviviis & poculis vacarent & usque ad Galli rum cantum, &c.

Epiſt. 40. ad Stephanum. from the Complaints of ſome of their own Communion. The World was amaz'd, ſays *Gerbert*, at the Manners of the *Romans*. Another reckons

Gerebrard. up fifty Popes in the ſpace of a hundred and fifty years that were a Reproach to human Nature; he calls 'em *Apoſtatical*, not *Apoſtolical*; and that none may ſuſpect either Ignorance or Partiality in an Adverſary, I ſhall give ſome Account of this Matter in the words of ſuch as liv'd among 'em, and wanted neither Opportunity to know 'em, nor Ability truly to repreſent 'em.

Apud Faſ. de rerum expetend. & fugiend. Tom. 2. *CLEMANGIES*, who wrote a Treatiſe in the Fifteenth Century, *of the corrupt State of the* Roman *Church*, is as free in his Complaints, as earneſt in his Expoſtulations: After a large Diſcourſe of the Abuſes every where notorious, he breaks forth in theſe words, " *I nunc, & confer* " *hanc vitam, hos mores, hæc Regimina cum pri-* " *mæva Diſciplina, cum Majorum Charitate, Con-* " *tinentia, Sobrietate, &c.* Go Reader, and com- " pare this Life, *(viz.* that he had been deſcri- " bing) theſe Manners, this Government with " the Diſcipline of the firſt Ages, with the Cha- " rity, Continence, Sobriety, and ſtrict Severity " of our Fathers, and thou wil't ſee (unleſs blin- " der than a Mole) that there is as much differ- " ence between us and them, as between Gold " and Dirt, *&c.*" And ſpeaking of their *Nun-* " *nerries*, What are they (ſays he) now become, but *Brothel-Houſes* and common Stews? he adds, That now the Vailing of *Nunn* is all one, as if you proſtituted her to be a Whore: And in his Letter to a Doctor of *Paris*, he urges that they ought not only to depart from *Babylon* (for ſo he calls the *Roman* Church) in their Affections,

Sed etiam pedibus corporis. *but bodily and locally.* *Mattheus de Cracovia* ſpeaks in the ſame Strain; he entitles his Book, *De*

Squa-

Squaloribus Romanæ Curiæ; and 'tis a great deal of Filth he rakes together; he ſticks not to ſay, that ſcarce any one was ſo wicked and ſcandalous but he might be admitted to Holy Orders, and allow'd to celebrate Divine Offices. Ibid, 585.

And to the like purpoſe, *Petrus de Aliaco* in his Tract offer'd to the Fathers of the Council of Conſtance; he cries out of the Multitude of their Images, Pictures, Holy-Days, of the great variety of Religious Orders, *&c.* and having largely inſiſted upon the Neceſſity of Reforming the whole State of the Papacy: He adds, things are come to that paſs in the Church, that it was not fit to be govern'd but by Reprobates. Faſc. Tom. 1. *p* 406.

To the ſame affect, *Laurentius Valla*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others: The former of theſe, compos'd a Treatiſe on purpoſe to expoſe their Forgery, with reference to the *Donation of Conſtantine*. In which, among other things, he complains heavily of the Covetouſneſs and Simony of the Pope, urging that he made Gain not only of the Common-Wealth, but of the Church, and even of the *Holy Ghoſt*; and adds, that the latter Popes labour'd to be as Fooliſh and Wicked, as the former were Holy and Wiſe. The other of theſe Witneſſes, (*viz. Mirandula*) gave a Noble Specimen in his Oration at the Council of *Lateran*, not only of his Learning and Eloquence, but of his Zeal for Religion, and deep Concern for the corruption of the Times. Even with the Leaders and chief Men of our Religion, (ſays he) there is little or no Worſhip of God; no good Method of Living; no Shame, no Modeſty, no Juſtice; Religion is turn'd into Superſtition, all Orders and Degrees of Men openly ſin; ſo that Virtue it ſelf is made Matter of Reproach to thoſe that practice it, and Vices honour'd inſtead of Virtues, *&c.* Theſe good Men ſaw a Ibid. *p.* 432. Ibid. 417.

Contagion ſpreading itſelf thro' the Church; *The whole Head was ſick, the whole Heart was faint*; and they were not wanting to bear their Teſtimony againſt ſuch Scandals; tho' generally they were *too few* to be much ſeen in the World, and *too little* to be heard.

THE Complaint of the *Germans* in their *Centum Gravamina*, their hundred Grievances, was a little more alarming; they cry out, of the intolerable Burden of *human Impoſitions*, that many things were requir'd and forbid, which God had neither commanded nor prohibited; ſuggeſting how they pick their Pockets by ſuch Devices, and how horridly they abus'd the Indulgences that they ſet to ſail amongſt 'em, pretending to pardon not only the Living, but the Dead: Hence (ſay they) Whoredom, Inceſt, Adultery, Perjury, Murder, and all ſorts of Wickedneſs; for what Evil will Men fear, if they do once believe they can purchaſe to themſelves Liberty of ſinning by Money, *&c.*

Quæ nullo Divino præcepto interdicta ſunt vel Imperata.

Faſc. Tom. 1. 335.

NOW theſe are the * Complaints, not of Enemies, but Friends, Members of their own Church. And that they had juſt reaſon to be uneaſy, and call aloud for Reformation, may appear to any one that takes a View of their Diſcipline.

WHAT ſhall we think of that Famous (or rather Infamous) Book of theirs call'd *Taxa*

* We have the like Complaint in *Agrippa* (de Vanit. ſcient.) who calls the Doctors of their Church, blind Guides, a Generation of Vipers, whited Sepulcres, who in their Mitres, Caps, Hoods, and Habits, make a ſhow of Holineſs, but within are full of Filthineſs, Hypocriſy, Iniquity; Drunkards, Gluttons, Gameſters, Whoremongers, Bawds and Wizards; and yet ſays he, a Man may not contradict their Decrees, unleſs he'll be burnt for it.

Cameræ

† *Cameræ Apoſtolicæ*, The Tax of the Apoſtolical Chamber, by which they eſtabliſh Iniquity by a Law, and contrive how Men may Sin *Cum Privilegio*. You have here a certain Rate fix'd for Abſolutions of all the Vices Mankind are addicted to; of murdering Brethren, Siſters, Fathers, Mothers, Wives or Husbands; of Inceſt with Siſter, Mother, &c. of all ſorts of Uncleanneſs, Theft, Revenge; and in ſhort, of any kind of Wickedneſs their Inclination leads to. I'll give the Reader a brief Taſte of their Courteſie. Abſolution for him that lieth with a Woman in the Church, is rated at 6 *Groſſo's*. If a Prieſt keep a Concubine, he muſt for his Abſolution pay 7 *Groſſo's*; if he be a Lay-Man he muſt pay 8. If a Lay-Man commit Sacriledge, he may be abſolv'd for 7 *Groſſo's*: If a Man lieth carnally with his Mother, Siſter, or God-mother, he muſt pay for Abſolution 5 *Groſſo's*: If he deflowers a Virgin, or is Perjur'd, the Price is 6 *Groſſo's*. If a Lay-Man kill an Abbot, Monk, &c. he ſhall pay for his Abſolution 7, 8, 9 *Groſſo's*; according to the Dignity of the Perſon: If he kill a Lay-Man only, he ſhall pay but 5 *Groſſo's*: If a Woman with

A *Groſſo* is about four Pence Farthing *Engliſh* Money.

† This *Glorious Piece* was firſt publiſh'd at *Rome*, in the Time of *Pope Leo* X. and afterwards printed at *Paris* 1622. the King's Priviledge being join'd to it. 'Twas the next Year 1523. printed at *Colon*, and afterwards in the Collection call'd, *Tractatus Illuſtrium Virorum* at *Lyons* 1549. And tho' *Claudius Eſpencæus* (cap. 1. Digreſs 2.) the famous *Sorbon* Dr. was ſo aſham'd of this Book, that he complains of it in his Comment upon *Titus*; yet this had no other effect than to bring his own Book into the *Index expurgatorius*, which condemns this Paſſage in *Eſpencæus*, and orders it to be daſht out. It was afterwards Reprinted with the foreſaid *Tractatus Illuſtrium*, 1584. at *Venice*, and dedicated to *Pope Gregory* 8. *Laurentius Banck* publiſht it again, with Notes upon it; who affirms, that to his certain Knowledge, the ſame Pardons and Abuſes, are at this Day practis'd at *Rome*. Some may alledge that the *Taxa* is plac'd in the *Index Expurgatorius* by Pope *Alexander* the Seventh; and 'tis true, but then it muſt be conſidered, that 'tis only that Edition of it, put forth with *Banck*'s Notes; he excepts nothing againſt the Book it ſelf. (Preface to *Fowlie*'s Hiſt. of Popiſh Treaſons.)

Child

Child wilfully deſtroy the Infant within her, ſhe ſhall be abſolv'd for 5 Groſſo's. These, and ſuch like, are the prices of Sin with *holy Church*. One Remark is admirable, at the cloſe they tell us, *Quod hujuſmodi Gratiæ non conceduntur pauperibus*; "that ſuch Acts of favour cannot be granted "to the poor, becauſe they have not, *Quibus* "*conſolari poſſunt*, i. e. *They want money, and No* "*Penny, no Pater noſter, no Pardon.*

WHAT Wickedneſs ſuch a vile Diſcipline as this, (and many † more Inſtances might be added of the like Nature) wou'd introduce into the World, and actually has, we are not now to learn. Sir *Edward Sandys*, ſpeaking of *Italy*, thro' which he travelled, and where Popery may be ſeen in its Perfection, ſays, "The whole "Country is overflow'd with Iniquity, with filthineſs of Speech, with beaſtlineſs of Actions; "both Governours and Subjects, both Prieſts "and Friars, each ſtriving as it were with "others in an Impudence therein.

NOR have their Monaſteries, their Religious Houſes (where Men ſequeſter from the World, under pretence of Devotion and greater Holineſs) eſcap'd the Pollution. If we may judge of others by thoſe in *England* at the time of their Diſſolution, we can't forbear calling 'em *Neſts of Villany and Uncleanneſs.* The diſcovery then made of their many Impoſtures, Murders, unnatural Luſts, (Sins, to puniſh which God once rain'd Fire and Brimſtone from Heav'n) ſufficiently expos'd them to the loathing of all

† Their *Mantuan*, whom *Bellarmine* commends for a Learned and *Godly Poet*, expreſſes his Senſe of *Rome*, and the Diſcipline of Holy Church, more immediately under the Pope's Eye; in this Diſtich,

"Vivere qui ſanctè cupitis, diſcedite Româ;
"Omnia cum liceant, non licet eſſe bonum.

ſuch

ſuch as had any Modeſty or Senſe of Virtue remaining.

THEIR inſatiable Covetouſneſs in the Conduct of their Affairs, and Exerciſe of Diſcipline, is moſt notorious, and has brought 'em into a juſt Contempt with all the unprejudic'd among Mankind: If ever it might be ſaid of any in the World, that *Gain is Godlineſs with them*; it might be ſaid of theſe Men. Many of their Doctrines, Rites, Obſervances (as Indulgence, Purgatory, Laws of Penance, *&c.*) owe their Being wholly to the Covetouſneſs of their Authors: And 'tis almoſt incredible, what Sums of Money are drawn into the *Pope*'s Coffer, by theſe and other little Devices that depend upon 'em; as *Maſſes*, *Requiems*, *Trentals*, *Obits*; as alſo by *Peter-pence*, *Tenths*, *Firſt-fruits*, *Appeals*, *Inveſtitures*; by the Sale of *Agnus Dei*, *Conſecrated Beads*, and ſuch like Ware, ſent from *Rome* every Year; by *Diſpenſations*, *Mortuaries*, *Pilgrimages* to the Apoſtolick See; eſpecially at the Jubilee. Some have computed that the Tenths and firſt Fruits, in this Nation, amounted to above 20000 *l.* *per Annum*, which was no ſmall Sum in thoſe times; nay, one *Archbiſhop*'s *Pall*, (*Walter Greys* of *York*) coſt 10000 *l.* Sterling, ſays *Matthew Paris*. In our *Henry* the IIId's time, it was reckoned that the *Pope*'s Revenue out of this Nation, exceeded the *King*'s; and ſome that have endeavour'd to make the Eſtimate, tell us, that there went 60000 Marks yearly out of this Land to *Rome*: In collecting which Sums, the Frauds and Cruelties of their Agents were ſuch, that a great Biggot of the *Pope*'s, and a hot Stickler in *Becket*'s Cauſe. *Johan. Sarisb.* aſſures us, "That "the Legates of the Apoſtolical Seat did tyran- "nize over the Provinces, as if the Devil was "gone out from the preſence of the Lord to "ſcourge

The *Church* engroſſeth Riches.

Matt. Paris *p.* 667.

"ſcourge the Church". Yet to oppoſe theſe Officers of the *Pope*, is reckon'd at *Rome* the moſt Mortal Sin.

NOR had our Neighbours much better Treatment; the ſame Trade was carried on in other Countries, witneſs the Complaint of the *Germans* in their hundred Grievances; and that of the Council of *Spain*, mention'd by *Sandys* in his *Europæ ſpeculum*, *viz.* that Pope *Pius* V. had got 14 Millions out of that Kingdom in a ſhort ſpace. And *Ciracella* affirms, that Pope *Sixtus* V. in five Years time collected 5 Millions of Crowns; †4 Millions of which *Gregory* XIV. his Succeſſor, waſted in Pomp and Riot, in leſs than 10 Months. In ſhort, the Church had found means to Ingroſs the greateſt part of the Treaſure of the Weſtern World into their own hands; and had not a ſtop been put to their Encroachments; in a little while more, they wou'd have inſlav'd and impoveriſh'd all Mankind that owned their Uſurpation.

† Europ. Specul.

NOW need we wonder at this, conſidering how many Hands were employ'd? The grand *Fiſherman* at *Rome*, had a Multitude in every Country to Angle partly for him, and partly for themſelves. *Alfred* reckons above 100 Years ago, that there were then at leaſt 225044 Monaſteries in *Chriſtendom*; and if you allow 40 Perſons to an Houſe, the Number will be more than 9 Million. Now all theſe, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſticks, which, like Locuſts, had overſpread the face of the Earth, liv'd upon the Plunder of the People: And beſides, they had a thouſand little Tricks and Devices to get Money; they cou'd ſell a dead Man's Bones at a vaſt Sum; *Auſtin*'s particularly (that were tranſlated from *Hippo* to *Sardinia*) were purchas'd at 100 Talents of Silver, and a Talent of Gold: And

And having almoſt an infinite variety of Ware, which they put off at no ſmall rate, taking advantage of the Superſtition and Credulity of their ſilly Chapmen, it ſtrangely enrich'd 'em: Their own Poet *Mantuan* acknowledges, that all things were ſet to Sale at *Rome*: Not only Temples, Prieſts and Altars, but Heav'n and God.

——————*Venalia nobis*
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria ſacra, Coronæ,
Ignes, Thura, preces; Cœlum eſt venale, Deuſq;

But to go on.

VIEW their Morals with reſpect to Society, and they'll appear ſo groſs, that inſtead of obtaining, as they have done in the World, one wou'd rather expect the Princes of *Europe* ſhou'd have baniſhed 'em out of their Dominions. For ſuch are their Principles, that if they act upon 'em, 'tis impoſſible they ſhou'd either be good Subjects, or good Neighbours.

'TIS known that all the Eccleſiaſticks of whatever degree, are exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Secular Power. So that if a Clergyman be guilty of Theft, Murder, Blaſphemy, Perjury, *&c.* they won't allow him to be try'd by the Civil Magiſtrate. *Bellarmine* * maintains this exemption of the Eccleſiaſticks, alledging as a Reaſon for't; that Secular Princes are not the Lawful Superiours of the Clergy, unleſs it be prov'd that the *Sheep are better than the Shepherd*, the Sons than the Fathers, and Temporals than Spirituals: And hence it paſſes for a Maxim with 'em, That the Rebellion of a Clergyman againſt his Prince is not Treaſon, becauſe he's not his Princes Subject. Nor is this meer Speculation what they talk of, and diſpute in their Schools, but 'tis Matter of Faith with 'em; a neceſſary Prin-

*De officio Chriſtiani princip. lib. 1. c. 5.

Principle which they have brought into act, in Inſtances enough; witneſs the Quarrel between *Henry* II. and *Becket*. The King wou'd needs Chaſtize the diſorderly Clergy, and did ſo, notwithſtanding *Becket*'s Remonſtrance againſt it, as being a Violation of the Privileges of the Church; *Becket* reſiſts, and dies in the Quarrel, as is known; upon which the Pope falls on the King, who by way of Attonement for his Fault, ſubmitted to be ſtripp'd at *Canterbury*, and whipp'd by the Monks.

HOW they have inſulted and trampled upon Crown'd Heads, is ſufficiently known, and not here to be enlarg'd upon. *The Council of Lateran* has paſt a Decree of Depoſition againſt Heretical Princes, or ſuch as ſhou'd be remiſs in Proſecuting thoſe the Church ſhall mark out for *Hereticks*. The words of the Council are, "If the Temporal Governour being requir'd "and admoniſh'd by the Church, ſhall neglect "to purge the Country of Hereſie, let this be "ſignify'd to the Pope, that from henceforth "he may declare his Subjects free from their "Allegiance, and give away his Land to be "poſſeſs'd by Catholicks; and to ſhow that they are in good earneſt, they have given the World Examples of their Doctrine, in the actual Depoſition of many of the greateſt Princes in *Europe*; Some ſhort † account of which, I have thought fit to ſubjoin in the Margin.

Sub. Innocent 3. an. 1215. can. 3. de Heret.

Popiſh Principles deſtructive to Proteſt. Princes & States.

† Pope *Zachary* I. depos'd *Childerick* King of *France*.
Pope *Gregory* VII. depos'd *Henry* IV. Emperor.
Pope *Urban* II. depos'd *Philip* King of *France*.
Pope *Adrian* IV. depos'd *William*, King of *Sicily*.
Pope *Innocent* III. depos'd *Philip*, Emperor.
Pope *Gregory* depos'd *Frederick* II.
Pope *Innocent* IV. depos'd King *John* of *England*.
Pope *Urban* IV. depos'd *Mamphred*, King of *Sicily*.

I grant the *Pope*'s have of late been more ſparing of their Spiritual Thunder-bolts, and that for a good Reaſon; they ſaw the Princes of *Europe* began to deſpiſe 'em, and ſeem'd not willing to ſuffer themſelves to be abus'd as formerly; on which account, no queſtion, it was, that there's no expreſs mention of the depoſing Power of the Church, in the *Council of Trent*, only 'tis imply'd in the Ratification of the *Lateran* Council.

HOWEVER, the Doctrine is the *ſame*; the Principle abides with 'em. They ſtill teach an Heretick has no right to his Crown, and that when he's Excommunicated, 'tis no Sin for any to kill him. This is their Doctrine; and the Effects of it are well enough known to *Europe*, by the Murdering of ſeveral Princes, and the loſs of ſome hundred thouſand other Lives.

NOR are their Principles much kinder to their Fellow-Subjects, than to their Sovereigns: The ſame renown'd Council of *Lateran*, has at once diveſted Hereticks of all their Rights: To plunder ſuch, is no Robbery; to kill ſuch, is no Murder; to break Oaths with ſuch, is no Perjury. Hence it was that after *Jerom* of *Prague*, and *John Huſs* had *Safe Conduct* granted 'em by the Emperor, the good Fathers of *Conſtance* burnt 'em notwithſtanding, alledging, that Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks. And it

Pope *Nicholas* III. depos'd *Charles*, King of *Sicily*.
Pope *Martin* IV. depos'd *Peter* of *Arragon*.
Pope *Boniface* VIII. depriv'd *Philip the Fair*, upon which Occaſion, to juſtify what he had done, he publiſh'd in his Bull, which is now part of the Cannon Law, the following Decree: "We declare and pronounce it, "as neceſſary to Salvation, that all Mankind be ſubject to the *Roman Pontificate*. *Vide* Dr. *Chandler*'s Sermon, *Novem.* 5, 1714. *p.* 20.
Pope *Clement* V. depos'd *Henry* V. Emperor.
Pope *John* XXII. depriv'd the Emperor *Lodovick*.
Pope *Gregory* IX. depos'd the Emperor *Wenceſlaus*.
Pope *Paul* III. depriv'd *Henry* VIII. of *England*.

ſeems

ſeems Pope *Martin* V. went further, when he declar'd to the Duke of *Lithuania*, that he Sinn'd mortally, if he kept his Faith with Hereticks. So that 'tis plain, the *Bona fides* of a Catholick (eſpecially in Matters where the Intereſt of Holy Church may be concern'd) is not to be regarded, and that ſome other Security is to be expected, beſides Stipulations, Promiſes and Oaths, even when their Perfidy has not yet been proclaim'd to the World.

IN ſhort, there is not a Proteſtant Prince now on Earth, that is not Excommunicated, and laid under Curſes enow to ſink an ordinary Man to Purgatory, and lower: Nor is there a Proteſtant Kingdom in the World, but all the Subjects thereof are † devoted to Deſtruction: And there

† Pope *Paul* V. by his Bull *April* IV. 1613. ſolemnly Excommunicates and Anathematizes all *Huſſites*, *Wicklephiſts*, *Lutherans*, *Zuinglians*, *Calviniſts*, *Hugonots*, *Anabaptiſts* and *Apoſtates*, from the Chriſtian Faith, by whatever Name they are call'd; as alſo their Receivers, Favourers, *&c.* together with all, who without the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, knowingly Read, Keep, Print, or any ways defend their Books, defending *Hereſie*, or treating of Religion: He alſo Interdicts all Univerſities, Colleges, *&c.* who appeal from the Orders and Decrees of the Popes of *Rome*, for the Time Being, to a future general Council; and thoſe alſo, by whoſe Aid or Favour the Appeal was made. This Bull of Excommunication was affix'd to the Door of the Lateran, and St. *Peter*'s Church in *Rome*; and is pronounc'd every Year on *Maunday-Thurſday*, and has been ratify'd and confirm'd by more than twenty Popes: Hereby all Proteſtants in the World, of whatever Rank and Degree, ſtand Condemn'd, and are to be cut off by any poſſible Methods, either of Deceit or Violence: It was but agreeable to Catholick Doctrine, that (*Apologia Stanleiana Proditionis*) *Alanus* determin'd with Reference to Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſince ſhe was both an Heretick and Excommunicate, her Subjects were in Conſcience bound to deliver up to the King of *Spain* her Armies, Cities, Caſtles, *&c.* and *that the Queen may no longer have a Property in any thing.* Chriſtians may not tolerate a King that is an Heretick, ſays *Bellarmine*; and, ſays *Maſſovius*, he that Reigns contrary to the Popes Mind is a Tyrant; and *Bannes* having declar'd for the Depoſing of an Heretical King, *if there be a ſufficient Force*; otherwiſe to attempt it, may expoſe the Catholicks to Danger, adds, on which Account the Catholicks in *England* and *Saxony* are excus'd from riſing up in Arms againſt their Proteſtant Princes, becauſe commonly they are *not Powerful enough* to carry on War againſt 'em.

But

is nothing elſe between them and the Exciſion the Church has determin'd, but want of Power to execute the Church's Sentence. If it was poſſible (ſays * *Bellarmine*) to extirpate Hereticks, undoubtedly they ought to be deſtroy'd Root and Branch; but *if it can't be done*, becauſe they are ſtronger than we, and if when we engage in War againſt 'em, they are like to be too hard for us, *tunc quieſcendum eſt*, in that Caſe we are to be quiet, *i. e.* they are not bound to cut our Throats, and Murder us, whether they be able or not; but whenever they have ability and opportunity, they have leave to do it, and indeed are oblig'd to do it; nor are a thouſand Oaths any Security to us, that they will not do it. This is *Popiſh Divinity*, *Popiſh Religion*.

* *De Laicis*, lib. 3. cap. 22.

AND they have gone as far as they can in purſuit of their Principles. As they teach, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; they are no Hypocrites in this, but have very agreeably to their Principles, violated the moſt Solemn Oaths and Engagements. They teach that Hereticks are to be deſtroy'd, and they have done their utmoſt to apply their own Doctrine. Witneſs the Butcheries committed in *Germany*, *Po-*

But where it can be done the Catholicks are to depoſe them: Nay, they are to do it, ſays *Creſwell*, on Peril of their Souls; and adds *Mariana*, Kings who renounce the Popiſh Religion are to be treated like mad Dogs, and he is to be commended who at the Peril of his Life ſhall procure the publick Welfare: Sometimes indeed Papiſts may live quietly under a Proteſtant Government. The Pope in the Year 1580. when *Campian* and *Parſons* came into *England*, ſent a Diſpenſation to the Catholicks to ſubmit to Queen *Elizabeth* in Temporals, but this was with a Condition, *the Caſe thus ſtanding*. *i. e.* becauſe they could not do better, but as ſoon as an Opportunity offer'd, *viz.* in the Year 1588, when the Spaniard furniſh'd out his Armada, then they are diſcharg'd from their Faith to the Queen, which *Allen* ſignify'd in his Admonition to the Nobility of *England*, and called upon them to engage in the Old Cauſe. 'Tis the unchangeable Law of holy Church, *that they muſt deſtroy us if they can, and when they can.*

land, *Bohemia*, and in the *Netherlands* by the Duke of *Alva*; and especially towards the *Waldenses*, above a Million of whom have been put to Death in *France*, as some have observ'd; Witness what was done in *England* in Queen *Mary*'s Days; the Massacre of *Paris*; wherein Cruelty and Perfidy seem'd to contend which shou'd most Triumph: Witness the havock made in *Ireland*, during the Rebellion there, when between two and three hundred thousand Protestants were murdered, with all the Circumstances of Inhumanity imaginable; but not to insist upon more Particulars; Some that have strictly enquir'd into these Matters, tell us, *That in forty Years* Rome *has been the Death of forty Millions.*

WHAT their *Faith* is, may be learnt from their Catechisms, Decrees of Councils, *&c.* and especially from their new *Trent-Creed*, which consists of 24 Articles; the 12 of the ancient Creed, generally receiv'd in Protestant Churches, and call'd the Apostles Creed; and 12 new Articles of their own Coining, which in effect subvert the former. In this summary of their Faith; they declare they embrace all the Traditions of the Church; some Particulars of which are mention'd; as the 7 Sacraments, Indulgence, Purgatory, *&c.* but 'tis manifest, as they can produce no competent Authority for any of these, so they maintain them upon no other Principles, than that of *Demetrius*, viz. *because by this Craft they have their Gain.* They believe the Church has the power to Interpret Scripture, which is to set it above Christ and his Apostles; Since we have the Letter from them only, and the Sense from the Church. They declare they believe the Sacrifice of the Mass, Transubstantiation, the Invocation of Saints, the Worship of Reliques, *&c.* And that nothing might be left out that might adorn and compleat the

Acts 19. 25.

Faith

Faith of a Catholick; they add, Art. 24. (which is the 12th of their own Creed) "That they "do, *without any doubt*, receive and profeſs "*all* other things, that have been deliver'd, de- "fin'd, and declared by ſacred Canons and gene- "ral Councils". But how is this poſſible, when 'tis certain many of their ſacred Canons and Councils are perfectly inconſiſtent, and contradict one another? As for Inſtance, when a general Council (as the 6th) defines that Hereſie diſſolves Marriage, and the Council of *Trent*, the † contrary, which is Fact; the Queſtion is not, which of theſe I muſt believe, *but how 'tis poſſible to believe both.*

† Inſtances enow may be given, of *Popes* and Councils *contradictory* one of another: *Julius* I. decreed, that none of either Sex, ſhould Marry within the ſeventh *Degree* of Conſanguinity: *Innocent* III. decreed, that the Prohibition ſhou'd not exceed the fourth *Degree* of Conſanguinity and Affinity: The Council of *Trent* condemns Poligamy, and Curſes thoſe that maintain, that 'tis lawful for Chriſtians to have more Wives than one at the ſame time: *Gregory* III. allows, in caſe of the Wife's Infirmity, the Husband to take *another Wife*, if he want the Gift of Continence, only he muſt allow the other a Maintenance. *Pope Gelaſius* II. decreed, that to diſtinguiſh the *Catholicks* from the *Manichees*, Believers ſhou'd receive the Sacrament in both Kinds: The Council of *Conſtance* Curſes thoſe that exhort the People to do ſo; and ſometimes *meer Enmity* in one *Pope* to his Predeceſſor has occaſioned the Reverſing his Decrees, as in the Inſtance of *Stephen* II. towards *Formoſus*. The firſt Act *Stephen* did was to repeal his Decrees; nor did he reſt here, but ſhow'd his Spite to *Formoſus*'s dead Body, which he dragg'd from its Sepulchre, hal'd to Judgment, and paſs'd Sentence upon, as if it had been alive. *Platina* mentioning this Rage of *Stephen*, calls it *a bad Precedent*; The Practice being afterwards very much taken up, that following *Popes* either infringed or utterly aboliſhed the Acts of their Predeceſſors. Thus *Romanus*, aſſoon as he got into the Chair, repealed the Decrees of *Stephen*; and *Theodorus* renew'd the Acts of *Formoſus*: *And yet all theſe Worthy Men muſt be Infallible, and all their Sacred Canons Receiv'd!* Vid. Proteſt. Fam. piece, pag. 9.

BUT I muſt check my ſelf; I have drawn out the Diſcourſe to too great a length upon this Head, and yet after all can't pretend to have made any thing like a ſufficient Repreſentation

of *Popery*; and therefore, as was ſaid before, I ſhall refer the Reader to ſuch Treatiſes of Proteſtant Divines as diſplay the Spirit of Popery more fully, and to the Life; or rather, I wou'd refer to their own Books: Read but their *Miſſal*, *Ritual*, *Breviaries*, *Pontifical*, *their Canon-Law*, *Decretals*, *Bullary*, *Extravagants*, *Pſalterium B. Mariæ* by *Bonaventure*, of which laſt * Dr. *Barlow* ſays, "'Tis the moſt Impious and Blaſphemous "Piece of Superſtition and Idolatry the Sun "ever ſaw; for whatever in *David*'s Pſalms is "ſpoken of God or our Bleſſed Saviour, is in that "Pſalter attributed to the Virgin *Mary*". Read the *Horæ* and *Mannual* of the Bleſſed Virgin; their *Taxæ Cameræ* Apoſt. (of which an account before) read the Deciſions of their Councils, and particularly of the Council of *Trent*, which confirms all the reſt: Do but read, I ſay, theſe ſeveral Tracts, which are the moſt authentick Pieces of Divinity and Devotion they have among them; all of them approv'd by their Church, and recommended by the higheſt Authority, and you'll find enough to convince you that Popery is ſuch a Corruption of the Chriſtian Religion; ſuch a Complication of myſterious Wickedneſs, as fully anſwers all the Scripture Characters of the Antichriſtian Apoſtacy.

* Genuine remains.

The Reformation.

AFTER *Religion* had lain bleeding and languiſhing for many Ages, and almoſt quite loſt out of the World, it pleas'd God to awaken the Minds of ſome to endeavour a Revival of it: Indeed the *Waldenſes* were ſteady conſtant Witneſſes, that never withdrew their Teſtimony, but continued to Propheſy, *tho' in Sackcloth*; they are thought to have remain'd a diſtinct Body from the *Roman* Church all along. *Reinerus* their bitter Enemy gives this Account of them, "That "of all the Sects that ever were, none were ſo per-

Contra *Waldenſes*, cap. 14.

" pernicious to the Church of *Rome* as the *Leon-*
" *iſts*, or *Waldenſes*; and that for theſe Reaſons.
" 1. For their Antiquity and long Continuance,
" even from the Time of Pope *Sylveſter* (who
" was made Pope in the Year 316.) or as others
" have affirm'd from the very Time of the Apo-
" ſtles. 2. For the Generality of that Sect, be-
" cauſe there was ſcarce any Country where they
" were not. 3. When all other Hereticks,
" by reaſon of their Blaſphemies againſt God,
" were abhorr'd, the *Waldenſes* had a great Ap-
" pearance of Piety; becauſe they liv'd juſtly
" before Men, believ'd all things well of God,
" and held all the Articles of the Creed, *only*
" *they blaſphem'd the Church* and Clergy of
" *Rome*.

BUT beſides theſe brave Champions for the Cauſe of Chriſt, others were at length rais'd up, who in their ſeveral places contended for the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints, and againſt the Corruptions and Abominations of *Rome*: *John Wickliff*, Divinity Profeſſor in *Oxford*, was one of the firſt that diſtinguiſh'd himſelf here in *England*; he tranſlated the Bible into the Vulgar Tongue, wrote ſeveral good Books of Divinity, from which many receiv'd no ſmall Light: The Council of *Conſtance* afterwards, not only condemn'd his Doctrine, but his Bones to the Flames; accordingly they were taken up and burnt by the Order of Pope *Martin*, when he had been buried above forty Years at *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*.

Wickliff's Bones burnt.

THE next conſiderable Perſons that engag'd in this Quarrel were *John Huſs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*; both of whom are ſaid to have borrow'd their Light from *Wickliff's* Lamp, by means of one of *Wickliff's* Scholars (*Peter Pain*) who fleeing into *Bohemia* for Sanctuary, took ſome of his

Hiſt *Huſſit.* Lib. 1. *p.* 8. Maſter's Books with him, which the famous *Huſs* met with, and as *Cochleus* ſays, tranſlated into his Mother Tongue. *Jerom of Prague* join'd with him, and by their Endeavours ſuch a Light was kindled in *Bohemia*, that all the Arts of *Rome* have not been able wholly to extinguiſh; and tho' the Council of *Conſtance* burnt both theſe Holy Men at a Stake, contrary to the Faith of the ſafe Conduct granted 'em, the Death of the Martyrs was not the Death of their Cauſe: They died like *Chriſtian Hero's*. *Enœus Sylvius* ſays of them, that they went to the burning *quaſi ad Epulas invitati*, as if going to a Banquet. *Huſs* it ſeems, had a particular Mark of Infamy put upon him, as they deſign'd it. They made a Crown of Paper with three Devils painted on it, and this Inſcription or Title upon it (THE ARCH HERETICK); upon the ſight of which *Huſs* cries out, *My Lord Jeſus for my ſake wore a Crown of Thorns, and ſhall not I for his ſake wear this Crown, be it never ſo Shameful*; and 'tis ſaid of *Jerom of Prague*, that when the Tormentor kindled the Fire behind his Back, he bid him make it in his Sight; for, ſays he, if I had fear'd the Fire I had never come hither; and, while the Fire was making he ſung Pſalms.

Hiſt. *Bohemia*, cap. 36.

I'LL only take notice of one Circumſtance more, relating to the Death of *Huſs*, that turning to the Prelates who were preſent on that Occaſion, he expreſs'd himſelf thus; *Centum revolutis annis, Deo reſpondebitis & mihi.* Ye ſhall anſwer for this a hundred years hence, both to God and me. And ſome tell us that he added, *You roaſt the Gooſe now, but a Swan ſhall ariſe, whom you ſhan't be able to burn, as you do the Poor weak Gooſe.* Now *Huſs* in the *Bohemian* Language ſignifies a Gooſe, as *Luther* does a Swan; and *juſt a hundred years after Luther* riſes up, and gives

Martin Mylius Apotheg. Morient. *p.* 93.

gives them a deeper Wound than ever they had yet receiv'd (as it were requiring the Blood of *Huſs* and *Jerom* of them); and we know the Swan cou'd never be taken, but dies in her Neſt, after ſhe had ſung the glad Tydings of the Goſpel to the laſt. This was, as I ſaid, *juſt a hundred years after*, and it ſeems an Accompliſhment of the Prediction; for as *Huſs* was martyr'd in 1416. *Luther* comes upon the Stage in the Year 1516. having receiv'd Light and Excitation from a Book of *Huſs*'s ſent by ſome *Bohemians* into *Germany*.

HOW *this great and good Man* began and went on with his Work, under the Protection and Encouragement of *Frederic* Duke of *Saxony* and others; and what Struggles he had with the Pope and his Creatures, is fully related by *Sleidan*, in his excellent Hiſtory of the *Reformation*, whither I refer.

Reformat. under King *Henry* VIII.

IN *England* King *Henry* VIII. having fallen out with the Pope about the Matter of his Divorce, begins to favour the *Reformation*; he writes a Book againſt the Tyranny of the Pope, gets himſelf declar'd Head of the Church of *England*, next under Chriſt; denies the Pope's Juriſdiction in his Dominions, makes it Death for any to maintain it, diſcharges his Subjects from paying *Peter-pence*, *Annates*, *&c.* diſſolves the Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, as they were call'd; which appear'd upon this Rifling and Diſſection, to be the greateſt Neſts of Uncleanneſs, Villany and † Impoſture the World ever

† The Blood of Chriſt at *Hales*, found to be nothing but the Blood of a *Duck*, is known; as alſo the *Blood of Grace*. One of their Juggles came out to their no little Confuſion. They had at *Boxley* in *Kent*, a famous Crucifix, that was exceeding courteous and obliging; it wou'd ſometimes move the Head, the Eyes, and bend the whole Body, to expreſs the Receiving of Prayers; and other Geſtures were us'd at other

ſaw: Nor did the Shrines of the Saints eſcape him; many of which were us'd with ſome Freedom, particularly *Becket*'s at *Canterbury*, which was *enrich'd to a prodigious Degree by the mad Devotion of thoſe Times. He ſtrips the Saint Naked, and finds other uſe for the Treaſure than to adorn the Carcaſs of a dead Man; nor did he think this any more Sacriledge than tearing the Bark off a rotten Tree. 'Tis ſaid, there was among the Treaſure one Stone, the richeſt in *Europe*, that *Lewis* VII. of *France* (coming

times, to ſignify the Rejecting of them. Great Offerings were made to ſuch a wonderful Image. One *Partridge* ſuſpected the Fraud, and removing the Image, he ſaw the whole Impoſture evidently. There were ſeveral Springs within it, by which all theſe Motions were made. It was brought to *Maidſtone*, and expos'd to all the People there; from thence 'twas carried to *London*, ſhown to the King and his Court, and all its Motions perform'd in their Sight. Whereupon the King's Council ordered a Sermon to be Preach'd at *Paul*'s, by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; wherein the Impoſture was fully laid open; and after Sermon the Idol burnt. *Biſhop of* Sarum's *Hiſtory of the Reformation.* Part 3d. Pag. 132.

* *Becket* was extolled by our *Engliſh* Votaries, above moſt of the Saints in Heaven: They not only appointed him one Day in the Year, (29th of *October*) but the Day of raiſing his Body, or his Tranſlation, as they call'd it (*July* 7.) was an Holiday: And every 50th Year there was a Jubilee for fifteen Days together; and Indulgence was granted to all ſuch as wou'd come and viſit his Shrine; and in one Year, ſays *Sonmers*, no leſs than One hundred thouſand came to Viſit him. *Antiq.* of *Cant.* What Reputation he had with the Saint-Worſhippers, may be inferr'd from the Account given of the Offerings made to the three greateſt Altars in Chriſt's Church, which ſtood thus for One year.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
At *Chriſt*'s Altar	3	2	6
At *Virgin*'s	63	5	6
At *Becket*'s	832	12	6

But this was before the Saint was fully known, I ſuppoſe, and his Character eſtabliſh'd in the World; for the next Year the odds were greater, and good St. *Thomas* carries all before him. The Account was thus:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
At the *Virgin*'s Altar	4	1	8
At *Chriſt*'s Altar	0	0	0
At St. *Thomas*'s	954	6	3

hi-

hither in Pilgrimage to pay his Reſpects to *St. Becket*) beſtow'd on him, which King *Henry* afterwards wore on his Ring. Several of thePopiſh Holy-days were alſo by *Cranmer*'s means aboliſhed; they were ſo exceeding numerous that he juſtly look'd upon them a Burden to the People, a Lett to Buſineſs, and only ſerving to nouriſh Superſtition, and keep up an Idolatrous regard to the Saints.

LITTLE was done in Doctrine, tho' the good Biſhop (*Cranmer*) earneſtly endeavour'd to have that reform'd as well as other things, and to purge the Church of the groſs Errors that had crept into it: The greateſt Step he could take to this Purpoſe, was to get the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed explain'd, and recommended to the Reading of the People. This was done in a Treatiſe call'd, *A neceſſary Erudition for any Chriſtian Man.* It ſometimes went under the Name *of the Biſhop's Book*, and ſometimes *the King's Book*, by which (tho' many Popiſh Errors were ſtill retain'd, yet) a great deal of Light broke in upon the Church.

SOME Attempts were alſo made for reforming the *Canon Law*. The Arch-Biſhop thought it highly unreaſonable, ſince they had caſt off the Pope's Power, they ſhou'd yet retain his corrupt Laws. And therefore the better to accompliſh his Deſign, makes a Collection of certain Paſſages out of the *Canon-Law*, by which he thought the neceſſity of correcting and amending would be manifeſt to all. We have this Collection in *Dr. Burnet*. Some * Particulars of

Collect. of Record, *p.* 1. *p.* 257.

* He that acknowledges not himſelf to be under the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* is ordain'd to have Primacy over all the World, is an Heretick, and cannot be Saved; and is not of the Flock of Chriſt. Princes Laws, if they be againſt the Decrees and Canons of the Biſhop of *Rome*, be of no Force nor Strength.

which

which the Reader may find in the Margin. Hereupon, by the Advice of *Cranmer*, an Act is paſt in the Year 1544, empowering his Majeſty to appoint a certain Number of Perſons, to examine the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church, and to draw up ſuch Laws Eccleſiaſtical as ſhall be thought fit by the King and them, to be uſed in all Spiritual Courts; and accordingly the Work was undertaken and brought to that Perfection, that it wanted nothing but the Confirmation of the King; and it ſeems, there was a Letter drawn up for the King to Sign, but it was never ſigned, and ſo the Project in a great meaſure miſcarried at that time.

IT does not appear that the Publick Prayers of the Church were yet ‡ generally in *Engliſh*,

All the Decrees of the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to be kept perpetually of every Man, as *God's Word ſpoken by the Mouth of* Peter; and whoſoever doth not receive them, they Blaſpheme the Holy Ghoſt; and ſhall have no Forgiveneſs.

The See of *Rome* hath neither Spot nor Wrinkle in it, nor can it Err.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath Authority to judge all Men, and eſpecially to diſcern the Articles of Faith, and that without any Council, and may Abſoil them that the Council hath damned. The Biſhop of *Rome* may Excommunicate Emperors and Princes, *&c.*

The Emperor is the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Subject; and the Biſhop of *Rome* may revoke the Emperor's Sentence in Temporal Matters. The Biſhop of *Rome* may be judged of none but God only; tho' he draw down with him innumerable People by heaps to Hell; yet may no Mortal Man in this World preſume to reprehend him, *for God may be judg'd of no Man.*

It appertains to the Biſhop of *Rome*, to judge what Oaths ought to be kept, and what not. We obtain Remiſſion of Sins by obſerving certain Feaſts, and certain Pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other preſcribed Times, *by Virtue of the Biſhop of* Rome's *Pardon.* A penitent Perſon can have no Remiſſion of Sins, but by the ſupplication of the Prieſts. Theſe, and ſuch like, are the Canons and Laws of the infallible Church, all of equal Authority, as they pretend, with the Word of God.

‡ Dr. *Nichols*, in his Preface to his Comment on the Common-Prayer, *pag.* 4. ſays, "That in the Year 1545. the King's Primer came forth, "wherein are contain'd, not only the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten "Commandments, but alſo the *Morning and Evening Prayer in Engliſh*, tho'

tho' ſome occaſional Prayers and Suffrages us'd in their Proceſſions, were ſet forth in *Engliſh* by the King's Authority, with a Mandate to *Bonner* to publiſh 'em: In this Form of Proceſſion was a Litany, in which they invocated the *Virgin, Angels, Arch-Angels, and all Holy Orders of Bleſſed Spirits*, all holy Patriarchs, and Prophets, Confeſſors, &c. nor were the Forms of Prayer then much changed. "The Biſhops, ſays *Dr.* "*Burnet*, that were appointed to examine the "Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, made "ſuch *inconſiderable and ſlight* Alterations, that "there was no need of Reprinting either the "Miſſals, Breviaries, or other Offices; for "a few raſures of thoſe Collects, in which the "Pope was prayed for; of *Thomas Becket*'s "Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whoſe "Days were by the King's Injunctions no lon-"ger to be obſerv'd; with ſome other Deletions, "made, that the old Book did *ſtill* ſerve.

Strype's Memor. 128.

Hiſt. Refor. *p.* 1. *p.* 129.

Nay, ſuch Proteſtants were they, and ſuch a Reformation this, that the Bible the only Rule of Reformation, cou'd ſcarce get leave to ſhow it's Head. Indeed the King was for the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue, and often recommended it, and ſomething was done this way at ſeveral times; but ſo unſteady was he in the

"not much different from what 'tis in our Common-Prayer Books; with "a Preface to it, ſhewing the neceſſity of Uniformity in Prayer, and of "young Perſons being inſtructed therein. In this Primer, the *Venite, Te "Deum, the Lord's Prayer, Creed*, &c. are the very ſame Tranſlation now "us'd in our Common-Prayer Book. Some time after this, the *Litany* "was publiſh'd in *Engliſh*, ſomething different from what it is now, and "permitted to be read in Churches on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*. He adds, "this was as much as could be brought to bear in the Reformation of "Liturgical Matters during the King's Reign:" And it may be more, for that they had Morning and Evening Prayer in *Engliſh*, is not own'd that I can ſee by our Hiſtorians.

Matter,

Matter, and so much sway'd by Popish Councils, that the *Word of God never had free Course in his Reign.* By an Act of Parliament in the Year 1549. and of the King 35. all the Books of the Old and New Testament of * *Tindal*'s Tran-

Burnet Vol. 1. *p.* 122.

* (Papists against translating the Bible) It mayn't be unacceptable to give a short Account of the Attempts made, to introduce the use of the Holy Scriptures in the *English* Tongue, and what Opposition it met with, which I shall do from Mr. *Strype*, (Mem. of Arch-bishop *Cranmer* l. 1. cap. 21.) He tells us that about the Year 1526. the New Testament of *Tindal*'s *Translation* was first brought into *England*, being printed in some Foreign Parts (he supposes at *Hamburgh* or *Antwerp*) but presently forbid by *Wolsey*; and soon after *Tonstar* and Sir *Thomas More* bought up the whole Impression, and burnt 'em at St. *Paul*'s *Cross*. *Tindal* goes to Work again, and Reprints the New Testament about the Year 1530. which Year he (*Tindal*) was martyr'd at *Villefort* in *Flanders* (says *Baker* in his Chronicle) for translating into *English* the New Testament and part of the Old, which being sent over into *England* was dispersed by his Brother *John Tindal*, and *Thomas Patmore* Merchants. But this cou'd not be born, they must suffer for such Presumption, and accordingly were adjudg'd in the Star-Chamber to ride with their Faces to the Horse-Tail, having Papers on their Heads, and Testaments tackt to their Gowns, which they themselves were to throw into a Fire made for that Purpose, and then to be fin'd at the King's Pleasure, and were actually fin'd Eighteen thousand four hundred and forty pound ten shillings and ten pence. In the Year 1531. *Stokely* Bishop of *London*, caus'd all the New Testaments of *Tindal*'s Translation to be burnt in St. *Paul*'s *Church-yard*. In the Year 1537. the whole Bible containing the Old and New Testament call'd *Matthew*'s *Bible*, of *Tindal*'s and *Roger*'s Translation, was printed by *Grafton* at *Hamburgh*, and was by *Cromwel* and *Canterbury*'s means, at the King's Command, set up in all Parish Churches. But this promis'd no good to Holy Church, and therefore the Crafts-men cry amain against it; apprehending if this was allow'd, (*viz.* a Bible in a known Language) *their Craft would be in Danger of being set at Nought*; and by their Insinuations they prevail with the King to deliver it up to them; who accordingly put to Flight those that were concerned in the Work, seiz'd the Books and burnt 'em as *Heretical*.

Notwithstanding this, thro' *Cromwel* the Vicar-General, his Interest with the King, the Bible was again printed: (For indeed throughout the later part of this Reign, sometimes *Israel* and sometimes *Amalek* prevail'd) and the King by Proclamation order'd it should be provided in every Parish, limiting the Price, and fixing the Time of procuring it; adding a Penalty of 40 *s.* a Month in case of Neglect. But in a Year or two, 1542-3. the Popish Bishops are in the Ascendent again, the Bible suppress'd again. *Grafton* the Printer imprison'd, who was forc'd for his Liberty to give in 300 *l.* Bond that he would neither Sell nor Print any more Bibles till the

slation

ſlation (which is call'd *Crafty*, *Falſe*, *Untrue*) are forbidden to be kept, or us'd in the King's Dominions; and tho' other Bibles were allow'd under certain Reſtrictions, yet no Woman, nor Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-Men, Servingmen, under the Degree of Yeomen, no Husbandmen nor Labourers might read them.

SO that 'tis plain, the Reformation advanc'd but a little way in this King's time, being himſelf in Reality *more than half a Papiſt*, as appears by ſundry Paſſages in his *Will*, and from the famous *Six Articles* that were groſs Popery, and upon which many Proteſtants ſuffer'd Death.

Reformat. under King *Edw.* VI.

IN King *Edward*'s Reign more was done in this Work, and the Reformation carry'd a great deal farther; the *Bible* that was hitherto look'd upon as a *dangerous* Book, was now encourag'd and recommended to the diligent reading of the People *in their Mother Tongue*: *Homilies* in *Engliſh* were ſet forth for inſtructing the People in the Doctrine of Salvation: The Clergy are allow'd to Marry; Images are taken down; the Sacrifice of the Maſs is changed into a Commemoration of Chriſt, and Communion of his Body and Blood; the whole Common-Prayer Book is examin'd; and in all the Offices ſuch Alterations made, as they apprehended the State of things would at that time bear, retaining ſtill as much of the old Service as they thought tolerable; the whole being finiſh'd and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, was confirm'd by an Act of Parliament in the Year 1548. This was the *firſt Book* of *Edward* VI. which afterwards was reviſ'd, and put forth with

King and Clergy ſhould agree upon a Tranſlation; and 'twas now, I ſuppoſe, they procur'd the Order from the King againſt reading of the Bible in the Church, and for confining it to certain Perſons mention'd above. My Author adds. *From henceforth the Bible was ſtopt, during the remainder of King* Henry's *Reign.*

many

many Corrections and Improvements, and more refin'd from Tinctures of Popiſh Superſtition, which was done in the fifth Year of King *Edward*, and is call'd his *Second Book*. The Pſalms of *David* were turn'd into Metre by *Hopkins*, *Sternhold*, *Wiſdom*, &c. and allow'd to be ſung in Churches; the Altars are chang'd into Communion Tables; and in the Year 1552. the Articles of Religion were drawn up; the ſame in Subſtance with the Thirty Nine Articles of the Preſent Church of *England*.

UPON the Demiſe of King *Edward*, *Anno* 1553. his Siſter *Mary* ſucceeds to the Crown; who, 'tis known, ſoon undid all her Father and Brother had done, and reſtor'd the whole Body of Popery.

Reformat. under Q. *Elizabeth*

QUEEN *Elizabeth* revives the Reformation, tho' inſtead of perfecting it, *carried it ſome Steps backward*, partly from her own Inclination, ſhe loving State and Magnificence in Religion as well as any thing elſe, ſays Dr. *Burnet*, and partly in Compliance with the Papiſts, that ſhe might draw them into the Church and keep them eaſy there: Thus in the Service-Book Dr. *Heylin* tells us, there was great care taken to expunge all ſuch Paſſages in it, (*viz* in King *Edward*'s Book) as might give any Offence to the Popiſh Party, or be urg'd by them in Excuſe for their not coming to Church. For Inſtance; whereas in the Litany there was a Prayer, *To be deliver'd from the Tyranny, and all the deteſtable Enormities of the Biſhop of Rome*; this was thought fit to be expung'd. The Form us'd in giving the Bread and Wine was alter'd; a whole Rubrick at the end of the Communion-Service was expung'd, by which 'twas declar'd, that Kneeling at the Sacrament was requir'd for no other Reaſon, than for a ſignification of the humble and grateful Acknow-

Hiſtory of Reformat. 283.

Acknowledgment of the Benefits of Chriſt, given therein to the worthy Receiver, and not for any Adoration to the Sacramental Bread and Wine, there Bodily receiv'd; or in regard of any real and eſſential Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood: This was left out, as being too expreſs a renouncing of Tranſubſtantiation, and like to prove Offenſive to thoſe they were ſo concern'd to oblige. And to come cloſer to the Church of *Rome*, adds *Heylin*, it was order'd by the Queens Injunctions, that the Bread ſhou'd be made round, like the Wafers in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and that the Lord's Table ſhould be placed where the Altar ſtood; that the accuſtom'd Reverence ſhou'd be made at the Name of Jeſus, Muſick retain'd in the Church, *&c.* By which Compliances, ſays he, the Book was made ſo paſſable, that for ten years the Papiſts generally repair'd to the Pariſh Churches without Doubt or Scruple; Nay it ſeems, that the Queen was inclin'd to Images in the Churches; the uſe of which ſhe thought might be a means to ſtir up Devotion, or at leaſt it wou'd draw People to frequent them the more; and it was with ſome Difficulty that the Biſhops and Divines of the Reform'd Religion reaſon'd her out of it, as the late Biſhop of *Sarum* tells us in his Hiſtory of Reformation. *Heylin* 283. Part 2d. p. 397.

AND this was the length our Reformers came, the State Queen *Elizabeth* left the Reformation in. Dr. *Heylin* is wonderfully tranſported with the Beauty of the Church of *England*, as then eſtabliſh'd; and invites his Readers to behold it in the Glaſs he has prepar'd: "Behold ſays he, "the Government of the Church by Arch-biſhops "and Biſhops. Theſe Biſhops nominated and "elected according to the Statute of the 26th of "*Henry* VIII. and Conſecrated by the Ordinal,

"and

" and confirm'd by Parliaments, never appear-
" ing publickly but in their Rochets; nor offi-
" ciating otherwiſe than in Copes at the Holy
" Altar! The Prieſts never ſtirring out of Doors
" but in their Square Caps, Gowns, and Canoni-
" cal Coats; nor executing any Divine Office
" but in their Surplice; a Veſtment ſet apart
" for Religious Services in the Primitive Times,
" as may be gather'd from St. *Chryſoſtom* and St.
" *Hierom*. The Doctrine of the Church re-
" duc'd to it's ancient Purity. The Liturgy
" confirm'd to the Primitive Patterns, and all
" the Rites and Ceremonies therein accommoda-
" ted to the Honour of God, and the Increaſe of
" Piety. Their Feſtivals preſerv'd in their
" former Dignity, obſerv'd with their diſtinct
" Offices, and celebrated with a religious Con-
" courſe of all ſorts of People. The Weekly
" Faſts, the holy Time of Lent, the Embering
" Weeks, together with the Faſt of the Roga-
" tion, ſeverely kept by a forbearance from all
" kind of Fleſh; not now by Virtue of the Sta-
" tute in the Time of King *Edward*, but as ap-
" pointed by the Church in Her publick Kalen-
" der, before the Book of Common-Prayer.
" The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebra-
" ted in the moſt reverent Manner. The holy
" Table ſeated in the Place of the Altar. The
" People making their due Reverence at their
" Entrance into the Church, kneeling at the
" Communion, the Confeſſion, and the publick
" Prayers: Standing up at the Creed, the Goſ-
" pels, and the *Gloria Patri*, and uſing the ac-
" cuſtom'd Reverence at the Name of Jeſus.
" Muſick retain'd in Churches, *&c.* To all this
" the Court was a good Preſident, where the
" Liturgy was officiated every Day; not only
" in the publick Chappel, but in the private

" Cloſet

" Closet; celebrated in the Chappel with Or-
" gans and other musical Instruments, and the
" most excellent Voices that cou'd be got in all
" the Kingdom. The Gentlemen and Children
" in their Surplices, and the Priests in Copes
" as oft as they attended the Divine Service at
" the Holy Altar: The Altars furnish'd with
" rich Plate, two fair gilt Candlesticks, and a
" Massy Crucifix of Silver in the midst thereof,
" which last remain'd there for some Years till
" it was was broke in Pieces by *Pach the Fool*
" (no wiser Man daring to undertake such a de-
" sperate Service.") And this was that Glory of the Church that we so much admir'd.

SOME Review has been made of the Work at several times, particularly of the Service-Book, as in *King* James *the* I's *Time*, after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and at the Restoration of King *Charles* II. but little Alteration has been made. Upon the latter Occasion, great expectations were rais'd of some farther Reformation, in order to the uniting Protestants; to which Purpose, the King gave a Commission to several Divines, both Episcopal and Presbyterian to meet at the *Savoy*, but all in vain. Dr. *Nicols* owns, " That the Bishops being provok'd
" by their long Suffering, were not very for-
" ward to make *any* Alterations propos'd by
" the Presbyterians, even in such things as *might*
" *have deserv'd Consideration*, refusing them so
" much as the Change of *deadly Sin* in the Lita-
" ny, for *Heinous Sin*." Preface to Comment on Common Prayer

AND having thus given the Reader a general Idea of the Reformation in its Rise and Progress, 'till it came to its present Settlement, I shall before I dismiss the Subject, subjoin a few Remarks upon it.

Reformat. a good Work.

1. IT muſt be own'd, that the *Reformation was a great and a good Work.* The Inſtruments imploy'd in it deſerve an *honourable Name and Memorial in* the Church of Chriſt: Generations to come ſhall call them Bleſſed. The pure Doctrine of the Goſpel is reviv'd and reſtor'd; publick Prayers are purg'd from Idolatry, and celebrated in a Language the People underſtand. The five Sacraments of the Church are caſt off; and only the two of Chriſt's Appointment retain'd, and theſe *in a good Meaſure* brought back to their Primitive Simplicity. Inſtead of ridiculous Harangues in Commendation of the Saints, of Relicts, Images, *&c.* Inſtead of endleſs Tales of feign'd Miracles, which were generally the Matter of their Sermons heretofore, when they had any; the Doctrine of Salvation is communicated to the People in well compos'd Homilies, (ſeveral of 'em at leaſt) which were appointed to be publickly read, 'till the Church cou'd be furniſh'd with Miniſters capable of preaching, and fit to be intruſted with that Service.—But,

Reformat. not perfect.

2. THO' 'twas a good Work, *it was far from Perfect*; nor did thoſe that had the Management of it pretend it ſo to be; they laid the Foundation, and expected thoſe that came after wou'd build upon it. This they ſignified in the Preface to one of the Common Prayer-Books of *Edward* VI. and 'tis ſufficiently imply'd in the Injunctions ſet forth by that King; in one of which the Clergy were commanded to Teach the People not to violate the Ceremonies not as *yet taken away.* And with reſpect to Government, all ſorts acknowledg'd great Deficiency. The Eccleſiaſtical Canons drawn up in *Henry* VIII's Time, and revis'd in *Edward* VI's Time, never had

Artic. 27.

had any Sanction to make 'em Authentick: Afterwards indeed ſome were brought in; the firſt in the Year 1571. and more in the Year 1597. In the Year 1603. the whole Body of the † Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions came forth, as we now have them: But can't be thought ſurely, by Impartial Judges, any very ſufficient Model of Church Government and Diſcipline. *My Lord of Sarum*, ſpeaking of this Matter, ſays "It has yet wanted the Chief "Force, for penitentiary Canons have not "been ſet up, and the Government of the "Church is not yet brought into the Hands of "Church-Men; ſo that in this Point (with re-"ſpect to Government) the Reformation wants "ſome part of its finiſhing." And elſewhere, touching upon the ſame Subject, he ſays, "The "Reformation, tho' conducted with good In-"tentions and happy Beginnings, was not car-"ry'd on to the Perfection *that was deſign'd* "and wiſh'd for; adding the *Proviſo*, that had "paſs'd in King *Henry* the VIII's Time, that "continued all the Canon-Law then receiv'd "in *England*, till a Code of Eccleſiaſtical Laws "was prepar'd (which tho' attempted and well "compos'd, was never ſettled) has fix'd a-"mongſt us *many groſs Abuſes*, beſides the Di-

History of Reformat. *pt.* 2. *p.* 407.

History of Reformat. *pt.* 3. *p.* 330.

† Theſe Canons were never eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, but *by the Prerogative Royal*, and Supreme Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, as the King himſelf (*James* I.) expreſſes it in his Declaration that accompany'd them, *Anno* 1603. and in the Title page of the Book of Canons they are ſaid to be publiſht *by his Authority unter the Great Seal of England* So that all their Force, one would think, depends upon the Statute of the 26 of *Henry* VIII. C. 1. wherein the King is declar'd rightfully the Supream Governor of the Church of *England*, and to have full Power from time to time to viſit, redreſs, reform and amend all ſuch Errors, *&c* which by any manner of Spiritual Juriſdiction may lawfully be reform'd, *&c.* which was confirm'd by a Statute in the 1ſt of *Elizabeth*; but of this the Lawyers muſt Judge.

" latory Forms of thoſe Courts, which make " all the Proceedings in them both ſlow and " chargeable. This has in a great Meaſure e- " nervated all Church-Diſcipline; a faint Wiſh " that's read on Aſh-Wedneſday, intimates a " Deſire of reviving the antient Diſcipline, yet " no Progreſs has been made to render that Ef- " fectual.

NOR can one eaſily imagine, the Plan of their Worſhip is what the firſt Compilers of it either deſir'd or deſign'd. It was not ſo improbable a Report as Mr. *Strype* ſuppoſes it, that was carried about in *Frankfort* among the *Engliſh* Exiles there, *viz.* " That *Bullinger* ſhou'd ſay " *Cranmer* had drawn up a Book of Prayers an " hundred times, (*i. e.* many times) more per- " fect than that which was then in Being; but " the ſame cou'd not take place, for that he was " match'd with ſuch a wicked Clergy and Con- " vocation." 'Tis certain that good Man had projected and aim'd at more than was done in other Matters, as may be infer'd from his Letter to *Cromwel*, to get the Prebendaries chang'd into a more uſeful Inſtitution. I am ſenſible, many of later Times ſtrangely extol this Performance (*the Service-Book*) and ſome have the Weakneſs to Inſinuate, as if it was *Inſpir'd*. To which purpoſe, we have frequent mention of the Teſtimony given to it, by the *Parliament*, which confirm'd it in *Edward* VI's Time, *viz.* that the Compilers drew it up *by the Aid of the Holy Ghoſt*. This is generally printed in the moſt diſtinguiſhing Characters by Writers of that Stamp. Dr. *Nichols* having Occaſion to mention it, (*viz.* the Compliment of the Parliament) gives it in Latin thus, *Sancti Spiritus afflatu Inſpirati & adjuti*, Inſpir'd and aſſiſted by the *Afflatus* of the Holy Spirit: But ſurely this muſt paſs for *Rhetoricating*, to ſay no more of it. It was a good Work

Memor. of *Cranmer*, *p.* 266.

Apparat. ad Defen. Eccle. *Ang.* *p.* 9.

Work for the time, and a happy beginning; but if one may ſay it without Offence; I can't but think that thoſe who make it a compleat Model of Goſpel-worſhip, and are for a *Ne plus ultra*, as if * 'twas impoſſible to improve it, do no great Honour to the Reformers, and leſs to themſelves.

Reformers accommodate themſelves to the Prejudices of the Times.

3. NO 'tis plain to a Demonſtration, that the firſt Reformers had very great Regard in what they did to the Circumſtance of the Time, *accommodating themſelves to the Infirmities and Prejudices* of thoſe they had to deal with. To reform all at once, ſays * *Fuller*, had been the ready way to reform nothing at all; *New Wine muſt be gently poured into Old Bottles.* He adds, *Our Reformers* began moderately, as the Subject

Ch. Hiſt. lib. 7. p. 374

* Some have gone ſo high in the Commendations of the *Service-Book*, (Abbot *againſt Church-forſakers*, *p.* 13) as to ſay, that the Wit of Men and Angels would not mend it; and that 'tis a ſufficient Diſcharge of the Miniſters Duty but to read it. And Mr. *Norris* is ſaid to have told the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in a Sermon before them, that they had a Liturgy ſo divinely compos'd, that if the Angels in Heaven needed Prayer they might uſe it. The Learned Dr. *Beveridge*, (Edit. 2d. 4to. *p.* 32.) in his Diſcourſe of the Excellency of the *Common-Prayer*, goes pretty far. He extols the Prudence and Piety of the Reformers, for compiling the Book of Common Prayer, *ſo exactly* conformable to the Word of *God*, and that Apoſtolical Canon *Let all Things be done to edifying*. This, ſays he, I can't but aſcribe to the *ſame extraordinary Aid and Aſſiſtance, from God*, whereby they were afterwards enabled to ſuffer, and confirm what they had done with their Blood: And we have other Inſtances wherein Men in the warmth of their Zeal, for that which they affect, have run out into ſuch like Flights. *Spiritum affuiſſe ſanctum appareat*: Thus Pope *Leo* complimented our King *Henry* VIII. upon his writing againſt *Luther* in Defence of the ſeven Sacraments, in a flattering Letter he ſent him; telling him it appeared, *That the Holy Ghoſt aſſiſted him*. And thus Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, where King *James* was *Moderator*, ſaid he was verily perſwaded the King ſpake *by the Spirit of God*. But ſurely ſuch Expreſſions can ſignify nothing, except it be the Tranſports of the Authors; and whether they don't tend to diſparage the *undoubted* Work of the Holy Spirit (aſſiſting and inſpiring) may deſerve Conſideration.

wou'd give 'em leave; for as careful Mothers on condition, they can get their Children to part with Knives, are content to let 'em play with Rattles; ſo they permitted ignorant People ſtill to keep ſome of their *fond and fooliſh* Cuſtoms, that they might remove from them the moſt dangerous Superſtitions. And the ſame thing is taken notice of in a Letter to *Bullinger*, wrote by ſome of the Reform'd Religion here: They tell him, That many Popiſh Ceremonies were *ſtill* retain'd, having a new ſignification put upon 'em; and that ſuch things as were Viſible, were thought fit to be retain'd, to prevent Commotions; and for this reaſon 'twas that the Sign of the Croſs, as the Biſhop of *Sarum* acknowledges, was ſtill kept in ſome part of their Worſhip (tho' moſt groſly abus'd in latter Ages) " Becauſe, ſays he, 'twas made uſe of a-" mong the People, to defame the Reformers " that they had no Veneration for the Croſs of " Chriſt:" And therefore to prevent the Miſchief of ſuch a popular Cry, they indulge them in this and ſuch like Matters. As for Doctrinals, they might more ſafely and with leſs Offence proceed according to their own Mind and Principles; the Ignorance of the People being ſuch, that they took little notice of what was done this way, provided *the viſible*, ſenſible part of Religion might remain with 'em, which they could not eaſily bear the Loſs of; and no doubt, a Regard to theſe Prejudices of the People, very much influenc'd our Reformers in the Meaſures they took.

Dr. *Burnets* Hiſt. part 3d. *p.* 140.

Part 2d. *p.* 79.

4. THO' all true Proteſtants in this Kingdom are exceeding thankful for the Reformation, according to the Eſtabliſhment made by the Laws of the Land; yet there have been all along,

long, and ſtill are *Some that have waited for*, and preſs'd forwards towards a more *perfect Reformation*. This we have reaſon to think was the Diſpoſition of Some of thoſe that began the Work, as before hinted. *Cranmer* was not the only Man who ſaid, * "That he confeſſed many "ſuperfluous things ought to be taken away, "and that he did earneſtly deſire they might be "chang'd for the better.

* Fatebatur multa detracta oportere Superflua, & ardentibus Votis cupiebat ea in melius Correcta.

IN King *Henry* VIIIth's time, the Reformation was but an *Embrio*, the Day only began to dawn, and tho' all that wiſh'd well to the Work, rejoyc'd when they ſaw the Foundation laid; yet 'tis known many of 'em were ſo far from being ſatisfied with thoſe imperfect Beginnings, that they contended even unto Blood againſt what was then required.

IN the next Reign, tho' the Reformation advanc'd a great way, compared with what it had attain'd before; yet there were ſeveral chief Men concern'd in it, that *aim'd at a more thorough Work*; and ſhow'd themſelves not a little uneaſy at the retaining ſo many Popiſh Ceremonies and Superſtitions. *Fuller* makes *Rogers* and *Hooper* to be the Ring-leaders of this Party. He tells us, "They renounc'd all Ceremo-"nies practis'd by the Papiſts; conceiving, (as he "expreſſes it after his manner) that ſuch ought not "only to be clipt, but ſhaven with a Razor. I might reckon under the ſame Denomination ſeveral Churches of foreign Proteſtants at this time in the Realm, that have fled from Perſecution in their own Countries, all under the Superintendency of the famous *John Alaſco*. Theſe, as they had been acquainted with a more perfect Reformation abroad, cou'd not but diſlike ſome

things in the *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhment: *Alaſco* declar'd his Sentiments in a Book he publiſh'd, entituled, *Forma & Ratio totius Eccleſiaſtici Miniſterii*; *An Account of the whole Order of the Miniſtry of the Church:* In which he ſpoke againſt *Kneeling* at the Sacrament, the *Popiſh Veſtments*, and the like; and has been Cenſur'd for his freedom, as not becoming a Stranger, eſpecially when receiv'd to Hoſpitality.

UNDER the next Reign (Queen *Elizabeth*'s) the Reformers begin more viſibly to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and fall into Parties; many appear'd diſſatisfied with her Eſtabliſhment, and with the State of her Reformation; apprehending they diſcover'd ſo many *Navi* and Blemiſhes therein, with relation to Ceremonies, Veſtments, *&c.* as very much ſullied it: Others in the mean time ſtand up for the Ceremonies, *&c.* So that *Fuller* had cauſe to ſay, *that henceforth one might behold in the Church of* England *two Armies with Banners*, and that *Nonconformity*, conceiv'd in King *Edward*'s Days, was brought forth and nurs'd in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*.

IF the Reader wou'd have a clear and diſtinct View of theſe Matters, I muſt carry him as far back as *Frankfort*: He's to know then, that the Perſecution raging here in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, ſeveral of our Divines left their Country. Some went to *Zurich*, others to *Strasburgh*, others to *Baſil*, and ſome to *Frankfort*. Among thoſe at *Frankfort* an unhappy Quarrel enſued, the Particulars of which may be ſeen in *Fuller*, at large.

Diſputes at *Frankfort.*

Church Hiſt. p. 27.

The *Engliſh* Exiles, he tells us, came to *Frankfort*, *June* 24. and by the Mediation and Favour of one of the chief Senators, had a Church granted them; the Enjoyment of which was to be between the *French* Proteſtants and them, as they ſhou'd agree among themſelves, with this Proviſo,

Proviſo, *That they ſhould not Diſſent from the* French *Church in Doctrine or Ceremony*, leſt thereby they ſhou'd adminiſter an occaſion of Offence. On the 29th of *July*, the *Engliſh* had two Sermons Preach'd in their New Church; after which, they proceeded to Conſtitute their Church, chuſing a Miniſter and Deacons for a time; and out of Conformity to the *French*, abrogated many things formerly us'd in the Church of *England*, *viz.*

(1.) THEY concluded that the Anſwering aloud after the Miniſter ſhou'd not be allowed.

(2.) THE Litany, Surplice, and other Ceremonies in Service and Sacraments, they omitted both as ſuperfluous and ſuperſtitious.

(3.) IN place of the *Engliſh* Confeſſion, they us'd another adjudg'd by them of more Effect, and fram'd according to the State and time.

(4.) THE ſame being ended, the People ſang a Pſalm in Metre, in a plain Tune.

(5.) THAT done, the Miniſter prayed for Aſſiſtance of God's Spirit; and ſo proceeded to the Sermon.

(6.) AFTER Sermon, a general Prayer for all States, and particularly for *England*, was deviſ'd; which was ended with the Lord's Prayer.

(7.) THEN follow'd a rehearſal of the Articles of Belief; which ended, the People ſang another Pſalm, as before.

(8.) THE Miniſter pronounc'd the Bleſſing, The Peace of God, *&c.* or the like, and ſo the People departed.

THE *Engliſh* Church at *Frankfort* being thus form'd and ſettled, rejoycing in their Liberties and Privileges, invite their Brethren at *Zurich*, *&c.* to partake with them; which they refuſe on the account of the Change made in the *Engliſh*

Stillingfl. unreaſonableneſs of Separat. pag. 10.

gliſh Service, *&c.* ſignifying, "They were re- "ſolv'd *no whit* to recede from the Liturgy us'd "in King *Edward* the VIth's time. Thoſe of *Strasburgh* being alſo dealt with to joyn with the Church at *Frankfort*, return anſwer by *Grindal*, in a Letter ſubſcrib'd by ſixteen, wherein "They "intreat them to reduce the *Engliſh* Church "there, as much as poſſible to the Order lately "ſet forth in *England*; leſt by much altering the "ſame, they ſhou'd ſeem to Condemn the chief "Authors thereof, and give occaſion to their "Adverſaries to accuſe their Doctrine of Imper- "fection, and them of Mutability.

DURING theſe Debates, *Knox* the famous *Scotch* Reformer comes from *Geneva* to *Frankfort*, and is choſen Paſtor to the Congregation there; and ſince there had been Queſtions mov'd, about the Alterations lately made in the *Engliſh* Service-Book, he reſolves to conſult Mr. *Calvin*, and take his Opinion in the Matter: To which purpoſe he, with *Whittingham*, drew up in Latin an Abſtract of the Liturgy, and ſent it to *Calvin* for his Judgment thereupon. *Calvin* replies, as follows; "In the "Liturgy of *England*, I ſee there are many *tolerable* "*fooliſh things*; by theſe Words, I mean, there is "not that Purity that is to be deſir'd. Theſe Vices, "tho' at the firſt Day, they cou'd not be amend- "ed; yet, ſeeing there was no manifeſt Impiety, "they were *for a Seaſon* to be tolerated. There- "fore it was lawful to begin with ſuch Rudi- "ments or Abcedaries; but ſo that it behov'd "the Learned, Grave, and Godly Miniſters of "Chriſt to enterprize *further*, and ſet forth ſome- "thing more filed from Ruſt, and Purer.

Jan. 20. 1555. *Tolerabiles Ineptiæ.*

Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. lib. 8. pag. 30.

IN the mean time, Dr. *Cox*, a Man of great Reputation among the *Engliſh*; as having been Tutor to *Edward* VI. arrives at *Frankfort*, with ſeveral others, who preſently ſhow'd their diſlike of

of the Change made by the Brethren there. *Fuller* ſays, that coming into the Congregation, *March* 13. with his Companions, he diſcompoſed the Model of their Service, anſwering aloud after the Miniſter. And on the *Sunday* following, one of his Company, without the Conſent or Knowledge of the Congregation, got up into the Pulpit; and there read all the Litany. In the Afternoon *Knox* in his Sermon ſharply taxes the Authors of this Diſorder, avowing many things in the *Engliſh* Book to be ſuperſtitious, impure and imperfect; and that he wou'd never conſent they ſhou'd be receiv'd into the Congregation. Both Sides ſtifly contended for their Points; at length the Senator that procured them the Liberty of the Church, Mr. *John Glaveberg*, publickly profeſs'd, "That if the Reformed Order "of the Congregation of *Frankfort* was not there-"in obſerv'd, as he had opened the Church Door "to 'em, ſo he wou'd ſhut it again. Ibid. 1555.

COX ſeeing himſelf worſted in that Encounter, has recourſe to a diſhonourable Stratagem, and that was to accuſe *Knox* of no leſs than High-Treaſon againſt the Emperor, for a paſſage in a Book preach'd many Years ago in *England*; in which, it ſeems, he ſhou'd ſay, that the *Emperor* was no leſs an Enemy to Chriſt than was *Nero*. "Strange! ſays Dr. *Fuller*, that Words ſpoken "ſome Years ſince in another Land againſt the "Emperor, to whom then *Knox* ow'd no Natural "Allegiance, ſhou'd in this unhappy juncture of "time be urg'd againſt him by Exiles of his own "Religion, even to the endangering of his Life. However, this Device had its deſired Effect. The State of *Frankfort* (as an *Imperial* Town, concern'd to be tender of the Emperor's Honour) will'd *Knox* to depart the City, which he did, *March* 25. to the great Grief of his Friends. 1556.

AFTER

AFTER the driving away of *Knox*, *Cox* and his Adherents carry all before them. *Whittingham* headed thoſe that were for the Purer Form, as they thought it; but no Accommodation between 'em being expected, tho' earneſtly endeavoured by *Whittingham*; (*Cox* refuſing a Reference) *Whittingham* and his Friends flee from the face of their angry Brethren and receive a Blow at parting, being branded with the odious Name of *Schiſmaticks*.

Fuller gives a Liſt of thoſe that upon this occaſion left; or rather were thruſt out of the Congregation of *Frankfort*. viz.

William Williams, William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Chriſtopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Fox, Thomas Wood, William Kethe, John Kethe, John Hilton, Chriſtopher Southous, Nicholas Purfote, John Eſcot, Thomas Grafton, William Walton, Lawrence Kent, John Helinham, Anthony Carier.

WHEN the Storm was over in *England* by the Death of *Queen Mary*, theſe *Fugitives* return home to enjoy their Religion, and aſſiſt in the Eſtabliſhment of it, in their own Country; but as may well be ſuppos'd, bring their *different Opinions* along with them; which occaſion'd no ſmall Diſſenſion in the *Engliſh* Church; one Party zealouſly contending to reduce things to the ſacred Standard of the holy Scriptures, and the Example of the moſt Primitive and pureſt Ages of Chriſtianity: The other as zealouſly oppoſing them herein, reſolving to abide by what they had done; *& hinc illæ Lachrymæ*: Hence the Church was miſerably torn and divided; the Reformation check'd; the Glory of it ſullied; and *the thing* it ſelf greatly endanger'd.

I'LL only *add*, 5. Such as ſtood for a further Reformation acted with a different Latitude; and have met with a very different Treatment, according to the Temper and Spirit that prevail'd in the Church in the ſeveral times in which they liv'd.

SOME

SOME that were moſt pliable, and were for retaining the old Veſtments, Ceremonies, Forms, &c. *did not act from any Opinion of the Excellency* and Sanctity of theſe things, or that they were beſt in themſelves; but partly out of regard to the firſt Reformers. Thus the *Engliſh* at *Strasberg* urge thoſe at *Frankfort*, to keep to the Order ſet forth in *England*; leſt, ſay they, by much altering of the ſame, they ſhould ſeem to condemn the firſt Authors thereof; who as they now ſuffer, ſo are they moſt ready to confirm that Fact with the Price of their Blood. They did it partly out of regard to the *Queen*. Dr. *Burnet* in his Travels mentioning the Letters he read at *Zurich*; that paſs'd between *Bullinger* and ſeveral of our Reformers, (the Originals of which were laid up in the Archives there) ſays, "it appears from thoſe Letters that the Biſhops preſerved the things then conteſted, rather in *Compliance* with the Queen's Inclinations, *then out of any liking* they had themſelves unto them.

Ceremonies retained out of Regard to the firſt Reformers.

Stilling fleet unreaſonableneſs of Separat. *p.* 10.

SEVERAL that comply'd, and wholly conform'd to the Rules and Orders of the Church, not only *ſignify'd their diſlike* of ſome things retain'd, but *endeavour'd* all they could *the Removal of them*. *Jewel* preſently after his Conſecration * writes to *Peter Martyr*, telling him they were engaged in Queſtions about the Lawfulneſs of having Images in the Church; adding, "It ſcarce could "be believ'd to what a degree of Folly, Men that "were thought to have a right Judgment of "things, were carried in that matter: There "was not one of all thoſe whom he (*Martyr*) "knew, that was drawn to be of that mind, be"ſides *Cox*; he was told that 'twas reſolv'd up"on to have Crucifixes of Silver or Tinn ſet "up in all Churches: And that ſuch as would "not obey this, were to be turned out of their "Biſhop-

Several that at firſt comply'd with the Rules of the Church, diſlik'd 'em and endeavoured the Removal of ſome things Retained.

* Feb. 4. 1560. Bp. of *Sar.* Hiſt. Reformat. Pt. 3. *p.* 290.

" Biſhopricks; but ſays, if that was true *he would* " *be no longer a Biſhop.*

April 1. In the ſame Year *Sands* writes, he was preſs'd to accept the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, he ſaw if he abſolutely refus'd it, the Queen would have been highly offended; but he found it more truly a Burden then an Honour. The Queen, he ſays, thought fit to have a Crucifix with the *Bleſſed Virgin* and *St. John* ſtill in her Chappel, which ſome of them could not bear; he himſelf had ſpoken freely to the *Queen* about it, ſeeing the ſuperſtitious People plainly worſhipped the Idol; but the *Queen* was ſo diſpleas'd as to threaten to deprive him; tho' ſince that time ſhe was more ſoftned, *&c.* The Images were remov'd, but the Popiſh Veſtments were *ſtill* us'd; yet he hoped they ſhould not laſt long.

IN the Year 1562. we find great Struggles in Convocation about theſe Matters, and ſome warm Endeavours for the further improving the Reformation. To which purpoſe ſeveral Articles were offer'd to the Houſe. The firſt was

Burnet Pt. 3. *p.* 302. " That all Holy-Days except Sundays, and the " Feaſts that related to Chriſt ſhould be abroga- " ted; That the Ceremony of the Croſs in Bap- " tiſm ſhould be omitted; and that for as much " as divers Communicants were not able to " kneel, during the Communion, by reaſon of " Infirmities; and ſome alſo kneel and † knock " ſuperſtitiouſly, that therefore the Order of " kneeling be left to the Ordinary within his " Juriſdiction. Again, that it be ſufficient for " the Miniſter (once) in time of Divine Service " and miniſtring the Sacraments, to uſe a Surplice; " that Organs be remov'd;" Many proteſted againſt any Alterations at all, and publick Diſputation enſu'd. In Concluſion the Houſe was divided and reckon'd; 43 Voted for the Pro-

† 'Tis a Practice of the Papiſts at the Elevation of the *Hoſt*, to beat their Breaſts ſaying, *Culpa Mea*, which its likewas referr'd to here.

Propoſitions and Alterations, and 35 againſt them; but when the *Proxies* were counted, the latter carried it by one Voice; ſo that, ſays my Author, they were agreed to by a Majority of eight of thoſe that were Preſent and heard the Diſputations; but were out Voted by a Majority of one Voice, a *Proxy* of an *abſent Perſon*.

IN the ſame Convocation, a Book of Diſcipline was propos'd. Whether this was the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws prepar'd by *Cranmer* and others; or what elſe it was does not appear, ſays the late Biſhop of *Sarum*. He adds, that in one of his *Zurich Letters*, 'tis ſaid, that ſome things agreed to in this Synod were afterwards ſuppreſt, which he ſuppoſes relates to that Book of Diſcipline. Other things were prepar'd for the Convocation; we have the Particulars at large in Mr. *Strype*, an Abſtract of which the Biſhop gives in his Work. *It was propos'd that all Copes, Veſtments and Surplices ſhould be taken away; that none but Miniſters ſhould Baptize; that the Table for the Sacrament ſhould not ſtand Altar-wiſe; that Organs and curious Singing ſhould be removed; that God-fathers and God-mothers ſhould not anſwer in the Child's Name, but ſhould recite the Creed, and deſire that the Child might be baptized in that Faith: That the Queen and Parliament be prayed to renew the Act for impowering thirty two Perſons to gather Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and to Review thoſe appointed in King* Edward's *Time*. Part 3d. p. 304.

BUT all this came to nothing; the Queen, ſays Dr. *Burnet*, return'd back to the Rules in King *Edward* the Firſt's Book; and being impower'd by a Clauſe inſerted in the Act of Uniformity, to Ordain and Publiſh ſuch further Ceremonies and Rites, as might be for the edifying of the Church, &c. She purſu'd her own Inclinations,

nations, and ſettled Matters accordingly: Upon
Ibid 306. which, a great Diverſity in Practice follow'd, as the Biſhop of *Sarum* informs us; and yet many even of thoſe that comply'd, did not fail to complain upon Occaſion. Witneſs Dr. *Horn*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in his Letter to *Gualter*, *July* 16, 1564. He tells him in *England* they were ſtill in fear of the Snares of the Papiſts; that the Act of Parliament that eſtabliſh'd the Veſtments, they had no Hand in: That the Biſhops had obey'd the Law, and they have Reaſon to think, had they deſerted their Stations upon that Account, their Enemies might have come into their Places. Yet upon this there was a Diviſion among 'em; ſome thought they ought rather to have ſuffer'd themſelves to have been put from their Miniſtry than obey the Law; others were of a different Mind; he deſires he wou'd write his Opinion of this, as ſoon as poſſible. Sometime after *Grindal* joyns with *Horn*, in a Letter
*Ibid p.*314. to *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, in which they complain of the Differences among them, and ſolemnly atteſt the Great God, that this Diſſention was not rais'd by any Fault of theirs; and that it did not lie at their Door that thoſe Veſtments were not quite taken away; they declare they did not approve of that figur'd Muſick, together with the Uſe of Organs that was continued in Cathedrals. They did in no ſort approve of Womens Baptizing; they gave way till God ſhall ſend †better Times, to the Form of making

Our Reformers write to ſome Divines beyond Sea.

† The great Motive upon which ſeveral of them acted in their Compliance, was the Neceſſity of the Church: They ſaw if they refus'd or deſerted their Miniſtry, ſuch would get into their places as would Ruin the Reformation. *Grindal* often conſulted *Peter Martyr* on this Head, whether ſeeing he was not left to his Liberty with reſpect to his Garments, &c. he ſhould accept of the Epiſcopal Function. *Martyr* in one of his firſt Anſwers (Anno 1559.) tells him, ſince theſe Habits carried in them an appearance of the Maſs, and were merely the Remainders of Popery; it was he ſaid, the learned *Bullinger*'s Opinion, Chief Miniſter of *Zurich*, the

the Sponſors anſwer in the Child's Name, for which St. *Auſtin*'s Authority was pretended; but they did openly declare that they thought 'twas not convenient, nor did they approve of uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm. For the Abuſes of their Courts, tho' they can't correct them entirely, yet they did openly inveigh againſt them, which they would continue ſtill to do, 'till they ſhould be ſent back *to Hell from whence they came*: They had labour'd in the laſt Parliament all they could to purge out all Errors and Abuſes; which tho' it had not the deſir'd Effect, yet they would not give over their Endeavours to bring it to a happy Concluſion; and with ſuch Apprehenſions of things did the moſt Eminent Reformers accept of their Preferments, and continue their Service in the Church, *waiting and hoping for a fuller Reformation.*

Some ſtood out and would not comply with the Terms of Conformity.

LET me further add, As ſome comply'd that did not approve, (which was the Caſe of ſeveral of Queen *Elizabeth*'s firſt Biſhops) ſo there were

they were to be refrained from by *Grindal*, leaſt by his Example, a thing that was Scandalous ſhould be confirmed. But *Martyr* ſaid, tho' he was always againſt the Uſe of ſuch Ornaments, yet he ſaw the preſent Danger, leſt they ſhould be put from the Office of Preaching; he further ſuggeſts, he might be an Inſtrument of getting them taken away; if he earneſtly labour'd therein; but if not, yet if he declined the Place another might ſucceed who would not care to have thoſe Relicks rejected; (*Strypes* Life of Arch Biſhop *Grindal p.* 29.) but perhaps would rather cheriſh and defend 'em: And when at another time *Grindal* intimated to *Martyr* how much many were offended at the Epiſcopal Habits; *Martyr* anſwered, he was to continue to ſpeak againſt the uſe of them; and that they might eſcape all Blame if they declared in their Sermons, (*Ib. p.* 37.) that thoſe Garments diſpleaſed them alſo; and that they would uſe their Endeavour at one time or other to get them laid aſide. And we find ſeven years after this (*Ibid. p.* 118.) when the Biſhop *Grindal* was debating the matter of Conformity with ſome Diſſenters taken at *Plummers-Hall*; he own'd to them (they having accuſed him as going like one of the Maſs Prieſts) that tho' he wore a Cope and Surplice in *Paul's*, *yet he had rather Miniſter without theſe Things*, but for Order's ſake and Obedience to the Queen.

others that *ſtood out*, and could not ſubmit to the Terms of Conformity at the Time. Dr. *Sampſon* was one of theſe: He had been Abroad with the reſt of the Exiles; and it ſeems as he was coming Home, upon the Death of Queen *Mary*, receives Information that a Biſhoprick was deſign'd for him. Whereupon he writes to *Peter Martyr* (who was in great Eſteem among the Reformers, and accounted the moſt learned Profeſſor in *Europe*), and deſires his Advice about it; telling him he ſcrupled Swearing to the Queen *as Supream Head of the Church under Chriſt*; he thought Chriſt was the *Sole Head* of the Church, and no ſuch Expreſſion of any *Inferior Head* was found in the Scripture: He thought likewiſe that the want of Diſcipline made a Biſhop that he could not do his Duty. The whole Method of Electing Biſhops was quite different from the Primitive Inſtitution, and the Conſent either of the Clergy or People was not ſo much as ask'd; the Superſtitious Dreſs ſeem'd likewiſe unbecoming; upon the whole, he was reſolv'd to apply himſelf to Preach, but to avoid having any Share in the Government till he ſaw *a full Reformation*. On the 30th of *May* he wrote again that a Biſhoprick had been offer'd him, but that he had refus'd it, and deſires *P. Martyr* not to Cenſure this, 'till he knew the whole State of the Matter.

Ibid p. 291.

Anno 1559

SOME Years after *Sampſon* and *Humphreys* joyn in a Letter to *Zurich*; the occaſion of which was the printing a Letter from *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, adviſing not to forſake the Church on the Account of the Veſtments. In this Letter they carry their Complaints farther; "They complain of the Muſick and Organs, and making "Sponſors in Baptiſm anſwer in the Child's "Name; of the Croſs in Baptiſm; of the "Court

Ann. 1565

Burnet Pt. 3. *p.* 310.

" Court of Faculties, and of paying for Diſpen-
" ſations. They don't think the preſcribing
" Habits to the Clergy meerly a Civil thing;
" they think *St. Paul's* κόσμιον, belongs, to the
" Ornaments of the Mind; and how can that
" Habit be thought decent that was brought in
" to Dreſs up the Theatrical Pomp of Popery?
" The Papiſts gloried in this our Imitation of
" them. They approv'd of ſetting Rules con-
" cerning Order; but that ought not to be ap-
" ply'd to this, that overturns the Peace and
" Quiet of the Church, in things that are not
" either *neceſſary or uſeful*; that don't tend to
" Edification, but ſerve to recommend thoſe
" Forms, which all do now abhor. They were
" not againſt retaining any thing that was good,
" becauſe it was abus'd in Popery. They affirm
" in King *Edward's* Time, the Surplice was not
" univerſally us'd nor preſs'd; and that Copes
" then taken away, are now to be reſtor'd. This
" is not to extirpate Popery, but to plant it a-
" again; and inſtead of going forward, is to go
" back. It was known how much Religion the
" Papiſts put in the Surplice, and at this Time
" it is held in as great Eſteem as the Monks
" Habits were wont to be; the uſe of it may by
" Degrees bring back the ſame Superſtition.
" They did not put Religion in Habits; they
" only oppos'd thoſe that did; and they thought
" it gave ſome Authority to Servitude, to de-
" part from their Liberty.

" THEY hated Contention, and were ready
" to enter into Friendly Conferences about this
" Matter. They don't deſert their Churches,
" and leave them expos'd to Wolves, but to their
" great Grief *are driven from them.* They leave
" their Brethren to ſtand or fall to their own
" Maſters; and deſire the ſame favourable For-

" bearance from them tho' in vain hitherto; it
" was by other Men's Perſwaſions the Queen
" was irritated againſt them; and now to ſup-
" port theſe Orders, all that is contended is
" *that they are not Unlawful.*

" The Ancient Fathers had their Habits, but
" not peculiar to the Biſhops, nor diſtinct from
" the Laity; † the Inſtances of St. *John* and St.
" *Cyprian* are ſingular; in *Tertullian*'s Time the
" *Pallium* was the common Habit of all Chriſti-
" ans: *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaks of white Garments,
" but with no Approbation, he rather finds fault
" with them; they acknowledge the Doctrine of
" the Church was now pure; and why ſhou'd
" there be a Defection in any part of our
" Worſhip? Why ſhou'd we borrow any thing
" from Popery? Why ſhou'd they not agree in
" Rites as well as Doctrine with other Reform'd
" Churches? They had a good Opinion of their
" Biſhops; they once bore the ſame Croſs with
" 'em, and preached the ſame Chriſt with
" 'em. Why are they now turn'd out of their
" Benefices, and ſome put in Priſon only for Ha-
" bits? They tell *Bullinger* in the Cloſe, they
" don't diſpute only about a Cap, but of very
" Important Things; and that he may under-
" ſtand the Matter, they ſend him ſome of the
" *Stubble of Popery* left with 'em; and then
" they take notice of certain *Maculæ* or Blemi-
" ſhes in their publick Prayers, and in the Form
" of Adminiſtring the Supper, of Muſick, Diſ-
" penſations mention'd before; that Women
" Baptis'd, that the Sacrament muſt be taken
" Kneeling, *&c.* As for Diſcipline they had no-
" thing of it, that in the Government of the
" Church they had many Foot-ſteps of Anti-

† *Bullinger* and *Gualter* had mention'd in their Letter, that St. *John* is ſaid to have carried on his Head ſomewhat *like a Mitre.* St. *Cyprian* is ſaid to have a peculiar Garment, call'd *a Dalmatica*: (To which Paſſages they here refer.)

" Chri-

" Chriſtianiſm; Pluralities, Licenſe for Non-
" Reſidence, and that all things were ſold in
" their Courts as formerly at *Rome*, *&c.*" Dr. *Burnet* Part 2. *Coll.* lib. 6. No. 79.

I have been the larger upon this Remonſtrance of theirs, to ſhow not only that ſome ſtood out; but upon what Account they did ſo; and alſo becauſe theſe were Chief Men, Brethren and Companions with the Biſhops in Tribulation: Many more there were that follow'd the ſame Sentiments; tho' ſome kept further off from the Church than others.

HOWEVER, Things were carried *with ſo much mildneſs* for a conſiderable Time, that very few comparatively ſeparated from the Church. During King *Edward*'s Reign, we read of no Subſcriptions requir'd either to the Service-Book, or Articles of Religion: Nay, ſuch was the Moderation then, that a Rubric of one of the Common Prayer-Books left it unto the Diſcretion of the Miniſter, how much to read, when there was a Sermon; and when they began with Subſcriptions, the firſt was only to the Articles of Religion, agreed to in the Convocation, 1562. the Members of the Convocation having ſubſcrib'd 'em, the reſt of the Clergy were call'd upon do it; and 'tis not like that many refus'd; or if they did that they incurr'd any great Penalties. The famous *John Fox* the *Martyrologiſt*, being ſummon'd by Arch-biſhop *Parker* to Subſcribe (as *Fuller* ſuppoſes) brings out his New Teſtament in *Greek*; adding, To this will I Subſcribe, but refus'd the other Subſcription, ſaying, I have nothing in the Church ſave a Prebend at *Saliſbury*, and much good may it do you if you will take it away from me: Nor did they proceed againſt him for his Refuſal, but he kept his Place to his Dying-Day, as did alſo Dr. *Laurence Humphrey* Dean of *Wincheſter*, and *Regius* Profeſſor

Great moderation in exacting Conformity.

Smectym. Rediv. p. 10.

Hiſt. lib. 9. p. 76.

Id. *Ibid.*

ſor of Divinity in *Oxford*, notwithſtanding his Non-ſubſcribing. And no queſtion, 'twas by the like Connivance that *Sampſon*, *Lever* and *Coverdale* preach'd in *London* (tho' they wore not the Habits), as Biſhop *Grindal* tells *Smith* they did; and exhorts him to go and hear them if he ſcrupled to hear others: And Mr. *Strype* ſays that hitherto (*i. e.*) to the Year 1564. Uniformity among the Clergy in wearing the ſame Habits, and uſing the ſame Rites in Divine Service was neglected, eſpecially in *London*, not a few rejecting the Orders of the Book.

Strype Life of *Grind.* p. 116.

Ibid.

IN the Year 1564. Conformity is preſſed with more Zeal: The Queen Complains in a Letter to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, that many had taken a Liberty of varying from her Injunctions. Dr. *Burnet* ſays in this Letter (written *January*, 1564-5.) She reflected with ſome Acrimony of Stile on the Diverſities among Miniſters, *&c.* as if they were the effect of his and the other Biſhops Remiſsneſs; requiring he ſhould give Orders to bring all to Uniformity throughout the whole Kingdom: Upon this the Biſhops met, and certain Orders or Rules came forth; and on the 24th of *March*, according to *Strype*, the uſe of the Scholars Gown and Cap, and the Surplice in all Divine Adminiſtrations was enjoyn'd; and alſo the uſe of the Common-Prayer; and Subſcription to all this; or elſe a Sequeſtration immediately to follow, and after three Months ſtanding out, Deprivation *ipſo facto*.

Strypes Life of *Grind.* p. 97. Pt. 3. p. 306.

p. 98.

THIS occaſion'd great Perplexity among the Miniſters; one *Earle* Incumbent of *Milwads* in a Journal of his, ſays, " Great was the Sorrow " of moſt Miniſters and their Mourning, for " that they could not perform their Miniſtry in " the ſingleneſs of their Heart." Many upon this were ſequeſtred, and ſeveral turn'd out, as Dr.

Strypes Life of *Grind.* p. 98.

Dr. *Turner* Dean of *Wells*, *Whitehead*, *Allen*, &c. Dr. *Sampſon* Dean of Chriſt Church, *Oxon*; who was as *Fuller* has it, *propter Puritaniſmum exauctoratus*, depriv'd for *Puritaniſm*. Towards ſome of theſe great Rigour was uſed, they were forc'd either to leave their Country or go to Goal; tho' others found Favour and were conniv'd at, at the Requeſt of noble and honourable Perſons, ſays *Strype*; and indeed long after this, when things grew worſe with the *Puritans*, ſundry obtain'd a mitigation of the Terms of Conformity; and by ſpecial Indulgence kept in the Church. *Ibid.*

Dr. *Calamy* tells us, he has ſeen a Subſcription ſign'd by fifteen Miniſters of *London*, bearing Date *February* 13, 1583. wherein inſtead of the Form generally requir'd, *That the Book of Common Prayer and Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may Lawfully be us'd, and that they would uſe that and none other*; they declare, "That "for the Book of Common-Prayer, they are "content to uſe it for the Peace of the Church; "or if they be found offending in any part, to "ſubmit to the Penalty of it; and for the Ar- "ticles of Religion they conſented to them for "ſo much as concerneth Faith and Sacraments "therein." Now upon Connivance in ſome, and ſuch favourable Abatements towards others, many of the old Puritans kept their Stations in the Church. Defence of Mod. Nonconform. P. 2. p. 111.

BUT alas! that I muſt add, this Lenity and Mildneſs was after a time (when the *Theologi Crucis*, the Biſhops began to drop off, that had known what 'tis to bear the Croſs) quite loſt out of the Church. The Queen's Inclination (as did her Succeſſors) ran high for Uniformity and Ceremonies; and accordingly ſuch were ordinarily prefer'd that had the hotteſt Zeal againſt the Conformity preſs'd more rigorouſly.

Puritans, and were moſt vigorous in preſſing Conformity; by which means New Laws were made, and both New and Old more rigorouſly executed.

SUBSCRIPTION was urg'd more peremptorily, and Penalties inflicted on Refuſers. The firſt Subſcription was only to the Articles of Religion drawn up *Anno* 1562 as hinted before. In 1564. Subſcription was required to the Advertiſements or Proteſtations as they were call'd which bore hard on many. In 1573. *Parker* was put upon urging Conformity, and to that purpoſe the Clergy are requir'd to Subſcribe to certain Articles, by which they approv'd the Articles of the Convocation *Anno* 1562 owned the Queen Head of the Church (or Supream Governour); that there is nothing Repugnant in the Book of Common-Prayer to the Word of God, and that the preaching and order of Adminiſtring Sacraments in the Church of *England* is Conſonant to the Word of God. In 1583. under the Pontificate of *Whitgift* (who was a Man after the Queen's own Heart) the Matter of Subſcription was reviv'd, and three Articles were put forth, the firſt relating to the Queen's Supremacy, and diſclaiming a Foreign Juriſdiction; the third relating to the forementiond Articles of Religion; neither of which Articles were much objected againſt. The ſecond was "That the Book of "Common-Prayer and the Ordination of Bi-"ſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, containeth no-"thing contrary to the Word of God, but "may lawfully be uſed; and that they will "uſe that and none other." This he was not only to propoſe, but ſee punctually executed; the Queen, as the Lord *Herbert* tells us, having charg'd him upon his advancement. "To take "care to reſtore the Diſcipline of the Church "and

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. 2. *p.* 494.

" and Uniformity in the Service of God; which " thro' the Connivance of the Prelates, Obſtinacy " of the *Puritans*, and Power of ſome Noblemen was neglected: And accordingly *Whitgift* goes to work, beginning with the three Articles referr'd to; and he follow'd his Blow to purpoſe during his Power in the Church, making Havock of the Puritans, and haling Men and Women, committed them to Priſon, and many were ſilenc'd by him: Dr. *Calamy* ſays ſixty in *Suffolk*, ſixty four in *Norfolk*, twenty one in *Lincolnſhire*, thirty eight in *Eſſex*, as appears from a Manuſcript in his Poſſeſſion; the Author of the Hiſtory of Conformity, p. 12 mentions the ſame Manuſcript as what he had ſeen, and gives the ſame Account, only ſays they were ſixty odd in *Suffolk*, and adds the Number is not a few, conſidering that in *Eſſex* at that time, there was an Account of 163 Miniſters that never preach'd, only read Prayers and Homilies.

Defence of Mod. Non-Confor. Pt. 2d. *p.* 111.

Small Pam. printed in 1689.

GREAT Endeavours were us'd to avert the Storm, and if 'twas poſſible to appeaſe the Queen and the Arch-biſhop; many Petitions were preſented to the Arch-biſhop and to the Council; ſome by Gentlemen in the behalf of the Miniſters, ſome by the Miniſters themſelves. The Author of the Hiſtory of Conformity ſays, He could fill a competent Volume with Supplications of this nature out of a Manuſcript in his Hand; ſeveral he recites, I ſhall only tranſcribe one in the Margin * as a Specimen. It was

Petitions in behalf of the Miniſters perſecuted for Non-Conformity. *p.* 13.

* *The Supplication of the Miniſters of* Lincolnſhire, *to the Lords of the Council.*

For as much (Right Honourable) as the Lord of Heaven and Earth hath ſubſtituted your Honours next under Her Majeſty to procure Paſſage to his Goſpel, Beauty to his Church, and Glory to his Kingdom; in which Buſineſs of the Lord, to the great Joy of all thoſe which pray heartily for *Jeruſalem*, hitherto you have happily proceeded. We whoſe Names are under written, whom the ſame Lord hath in mercy placed over ſome of

from

from the Minſters of *Lincolnſhire* to the Lords of the Council.

AND even the Council themſelves became Interceſſors to the Biſhops for the diſtreſs'd Miniſters: "They lay before them the lamentable "State of the Church in *Eſſex*; that a great

his People here in *Lincolnſhire*, as Paſtors and Preachers, to feed them with the Word of Truth, do humbly beſeech your Honours, to regard the pitiful and woful Eſtate of our Congregations and People in theſe Parts; which being deſtitute of our Miniſtry, *by the Means of a Subſcription*, generally and ſtrictly urged now *of late*, by the Biſhop's Officers, do mourn and lament. It is well known to all your Lordſhips, that an Abſolute Subſcription is required thro' the whole Province of *Canterbury*, to three Articles; the 1ſt. Concerning Her majeſty's Supreme Authority; the 2d. To the Book of Common-Prayer, with that of Conſecrating Biſhops, and ordering Prieſts and Deacons. The 3d concerning the Book of Articles. As touching the 1ſt. We offer ourſelves to a full Subſcription, as always heretofore we have done; as alſo to the Articles of Religion, and cannot be accepted herein, without an *Abſolute Subſcribing* to the other; unto which we dare not condeſcend, being not as yet many of us fully acquainted with the Book of Conſecrating Biſhops, and ordering Prieſts and Deacons; and all of us unreſolved and unſatisfy'd in our Conſciences in many Points of the Common Prayer. May it pleaſe your Lordſhips alſo favourably to conſider, that in refuſing an Abſolute Subſcription, we do it not out of any Arrogance, but for that we have not any ſufficient Reſolution, which we earneſtly deſired, of ſome Doubts about divers weighty matters and Points in the ſame Book; which Requeſts of ours ſith we could not obtain, we deſired that in the leaſt in our Subſcription, we might make exceptions of the things whereof we doubted, *which they have utterly denied us.* For which Cauſes, Right Honourable, we fearing to Subſcribe ſo abſolutely as we were urged, *we are all ſuſpended* from the Execution of the Function of our Miniſtry, amongſt our People, to the great Danger of their Souls, and Danger of loſing the Fruit of our former poor Labours, which we have by God's Grace imployed upon them; wherefore we humbly Crave of your Honours, our Cauſe being, as we are perſwaded, the Lord's own Cauſe, and his Church's, that it may be conſidered; and that ſince we can neither be impeached of falſe Doctrine nor Contempt of Her Majeſties Laws, nor of refuſing the exerciſing of the Book of Common-Prayer in our Charges, nor breeding Contention and Sedition in the Church: And again ſince Papiſts, her Majeſties Enemies, with Atheiſts, to the corrupting of Religion in Doctrine and Manners, do daily encreaſe; we may be reſtored to our Flocks and People in ſuch ſort, as with all Peace of Conſcience, we may go forward with the Lord's Work in building up his Houſe in our ſeveral places.

Subſcribed by 21 *Miniſters.*

"Num-

" Number of Zealous and Learned Preachers
" were ſuſpended from their Cures, whoſe Pla-
" ces were Vacant, or fill'd with Perſons of neither
" Learning nor good Name; they take notice
" that many of the Cures were poſſeſs'd by Per-
" ſons unfit, for lack of Learning, or great Faults;
" being charg'd or chargeable with Drunkenneſs,
" Filthineſs of Life, Card-playing, haunting *Fuller* Ch.
" Ale-houſes, &c. They add, againſt whom we Hiſt. lib. 9.
" hear not of any Proceedings, but are quietly p. 151.
" ſuffer'd to the Scandal of the Church, &c. *A. Bp. of
" Whereupon they earneſtly deſire their *Lord- *Cantr.* and
" ſhips to take ſome charitable Conſideration of Bp. of *Lon-*
" theſe Cauſes, that the People of the Realm *don.*
" may not be deprived of their Paſtors being
" Learned and Diligent, tho' in ſome Points
" Ceremonial they may ſeem doubtful, only
" in Conſcience and not of Wilfulneſs."

AFTER this the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh* and *Ibid* 155.
Secretary *Walſingham*, importune the Arch-biſhop *to abate of his Rigour*, and not purſue the *Puritans* with ſo much Sharpneſs, but all in vain: The Biſhop is inflexible, and goes on with Violence, driving ſome of them into Priſons, ſome out of the Land, others into their Graves. The famous *Cartwright* had no leſs than 31 Articles objected againſt him; and not giving Satisfaction was ſent to the *Fleet*. Mr. *Udal* a Man of a conſiderable Account among the Puritans, met with harſher *Ibid* 200.
Treatment; being arraign'd for writing a Book entitled, *Demonſtration of the Diſcipline Chriſt has preſcribed in his Word, for the Government of his Church in all Times and Places to the end of the World*, for which he was † condemned to be executed as a Felon. *Ibid* 222.

† Several were proſecuted even unto Death in this Reign, for Writing Pamphlets that were thought Seditious, as *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, &c. *John Penry* was executed for having an Hand in a Book wrote againſt the Biſhops

ONE

ONE notable contrivance for the more effectual Diſcovery and Suppreſſion of theſe Perſons, was to examine ſuch as they thought fit upon the Oath *ex officio*, obliging them to anſwer any Queſtions propoſed tho' they accus'd themſelves: Thus Mr. *Stone* was drawn in to diſcover the Meetings of his Brethren in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Northampton*; the Houſes where they met, the Perſons that met, with all their Debates and Proceedings in their Meetings.

Ibid 207.

NOR could any Applications from the greateſt in the Kingdom prevail with the Queen and the Biſhop to ſtop their Hand. The Queen was *ſemper eadem* in this Cauſe, ſteadfaſt and unmoveable; or if ſhe was in danger of being a little ſoftned, the Biſhop preſently remonſtrates againſt it, and leaves her not till he ſees her confirmed in her wonted Obſtinacy; witneſs his Letter to the Queen upon the Parliament's paſſing an Act which he thought injurious to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, "He complains they "had given Liberty to Marry at all times of the "Year, *contrary to the old Canons*, which ſays "he, containeth Matter which tendeth to ſlander the Church, *as having hitherto maintained* "*an Error.*" Upon the whole he concludes with humbly beſeeching her Majeſty to continue Her gracious Goodneſs to them; and we find afterwards when the Commons petition the Lords for ſome Tenderneſs towards the Miniſters; that they might have no Oath or Subſcription required of 'em, but ſuch as were preſcribed by the Statutes of this Realm; that they might not be

The Queen and the A. Bp. inexorable.

Ibid 174.

Ibid 190.

called, *Martin Mar Prelate*; and many others were condemned for like Faults: And it ſeems things were carried to ſuch an Height, that the Penalty of Non-Conformity was abjuring the Land, or in caſe of a Refuſal Death (*Eliz.* 35. c. 1.)

troubled

troubled for Omiſſion of ſome Rites in the Book of Common-Prayer; that ſuch as had been ſuſpended or deprived for no other Offence but not Subſcribing might be reſtor'd; that the High Cenſure of Excommunication might not be denounc'd for ſmall Matters; that Non-reſiſtance be removed out of the Church, &c. The Arch-Biſhop flies to the Queen with a moſt pitiful Outcry as if the Church was ſinking at once, beſeeching her Highneſs favourably to behold their Preſent State, and what it would be in time to come, *if the Bill againſt Pluralities ſhould take any Place.*

UPON King *James*'s coming to the Crown, the Hopes of the Puritans began a little to revive; they knew where he had been Educated, and might remember what he's ſaid to have declared in the National Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland, viz.* "That he praiſed God he was "King in ſo ſincere a Church, a Church ſincerer than the Church of *England*, whoſe Ser-"vice was an ill-ſaid Maſs in *Engliſh*;" and ſomtimes he would boaſt of that Church as the *Morning Star of the Reformation*, which could not but encourage ſuch as did not know him.

The Puritans fly to K. *James* with the greateſt expectation.

THE firſt remarkable Application they made to him, was in a Petition call'd the *Millenary Petition*, as having a Thouſand Hands to it, tho' *Fuller* reduces them to Seven Hundred and Fifty. 'Tis too long to be here inſerted, I can only give a very brief Abſtract of it. After acknowledging Providence in his Majeſty's Advancement they proceed, *We the Miniſters of the Goſpel, not as Factious Men affecting a popular Party in the Church, nor as* Schiſmaticks; *but as faithful Subjects of Chriſt and loyal Subjects to your Majeſty, longing for the Redreſs of divers Abuſes in the Church, could do no leſs in Obedience to God,* &c.

&c. *than to acquaint your Majesty with our particular Griefs. Altho' divers of us that Sue for Reformation Subscribe to the Book; some upon Protestation, some upon Exposition given them; some with Condition rather than the Church should be deprived of their Labour; yet now we to the Number of more than* 1000, groaning as under a common Burden of Human Rites and Ceremonies, *do with one joint Consent humble our selves at your Majesty's Feet, to be eased and relieved in this Behalf*; And then they descend to Particulars, and *Beg that the Cross in Baptism be taken away; the Cap and Surplice not urged; that Examination go before the Communion; that divers Terms in the Priests Absolution be corrected; that Lord's-Days be not profaned, nor rest on Holy-Days so strictly enjoyned: No Minister Teach People to Bow at the Name of Jesus; that the Canonical Scriptures only be read in the Church. That none be admitted to the Ministry but able and sufficient Men; that Non-Resistance be not permitted; that Ministers be not urged to Subscribe but according to Law, to the Articles of Religion, and to the Kings Supremacy only. That Men be not Excommunicated for Trifles; but that Discipline be administered according to Christ's Institution. That Popish Canons be revers'd; that the Oath* ex Officio, *by which Men are forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used. These (say they) with such other Abuses yet remaining, we are able to show, not agreeable to the Scriptures, if it shall please your Highness further to hear Us,* &c.

Hampton-Court Conference.

Fuller l. 10.

WHAT effect this had is not agreed; it may be, tho' that's uncertain, it occasioned *the Conference at Hampton-Court*, which was this Year, between Nineteen on one Side (*viz.*) for Conformity) 9 Bishops, 8 Deans, and 2 Doctors; and

1603. and 1st of King *James.*

and 4 Divines for Non-Conformity (Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spark*, Mr. *Knowſtubs*, and Mr. *Chaderton*) the King himſelf being Moderator; and he moderated ſo like a King, with ſo much Majeſty, bearing ſo hard at every Turn, upon the the Four Miniſters, that one need not wonder if they ſunk below themſelves in that Diſputation; and that the King and his Nineteen Seconds run down the Four Antagoniſts. 'Tis obſerv'd, the King as he Brow-beat them all along, diſmiſs'd them with Menaces, and told them if they did not ſhortly conform they ſhould hear more of it; and that he would hurry them out of the Land. *Ibid. Fuller.*

I have ſeen a Manuſcript that gives an Account of this Matter different from *Fuller* (as does alſo Mr. *Calderwood*) with this Title, *The Kings Private Conference with the Biſhops and others concerning Eccleſiaſtical Reformation.* It was begun by the King and Biſhops alone. The King having Addreſs'd them with great Affection, propoſes the following Points to the Biſhops, as what he deſired Satisfaction in.

1. The Form of Abſolution after the publick Confeſſion of Sins.
2. The Manner of Confirmation of Children.
3. The Toleration of private Baptiſm to be done by Lay-Men and Women.
4. Many great Errors crept in under the Title of Excommunication, by the corrupt dealings of Chancellours, Officials, and others.

Againſt all which His Majeſty did Argue and Diſpute at large to our exceeding great Admiration (ſays the M.S) of his Majeſties not only Rhetorical and Logical, but Theological and Juridical Diſcourſes; in the End his Majeſty received good Satisfaction, tho' he was pleaſed for the better clearing of ſome Miſconſtructions here and there to order that ſome few words in the Rubric, and Titles of ſome of the foreſaid Particulars, ſhould in the next Edition of the Common Prayer Book be inſerted; by way of Explanation rather than Alteration. This Conference was on Thurſday, on the Monday following the Conference was held between the Biſhops, *&c.* and Puritan-Divines, the latter named divers Abuſes, but inſiſted chiefly on Confirmation, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Surplice, Private Baptiſm, Kneeling at the Communion, Reading of the Apocrypha, Subſcription to the Books of Common Prayer and Articles, Excommunication for ſmall Cauſes; the Corruptions in the Biſhops and Arch-Biſhops Courts, with the Oath *ex officio*, upon ſundry catching Articles miniſtred unto the Preachers to entangle them. After that his Majeſty having diſputed in the *moſt excellent Manner*, and confuted their Objections, being therein aſſiſted now

BY

BY this Time, I preſume their Expectations from their Morning Star the King would begin to fail; eſpecially when *Bancroft* was advanced to the See of *Canterbury* (as he was this Year upon the Death of *Whitgift*) whom *Wilſon* in the Life of King *James* calls *a Sturdy Piece*, adding what *Whitgift* ſtrove to do with mildneſs and gentleneſs, *Bancroft* did perſevere in with Rigour and Severity; and I leave the Reader to judge what Treatment the Puritans were like to meet with from ſuch a Man, compared with whom even *a Whitgift* has the Character of *Mild and Gentle.*

Compleat Hiſt. of *England* Vol. 2. *p.* 665.

The Book of Canons formed.

1603.

THE great Engine, the Party that now had the Aſcendant made uſe of, to batter down thoſe that ſtood in their way, (ſuch as in ſome things diſſented from the Eſtabliſhment, and would have the Reformation carried farther) was a Body of Canons formed in this Years Convocation. They are in Number 141. the 36 of which concerning Subſcription, I ſhall ſubjoin an Abſtract of. " No Perſon ſhall hereafter be receiv'd in- " to the Miniſtry, nor ſuffer'd to Preach, Cate- " chiſe, or be a Lecturer or Reader of Divinity " in either Univerſity, unleſs Licens'd by the " Arch-Biſhop, Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or by one " of the Two Univerſities; and except he ſhall " firſt Subſcribe theſe 3 Articles following, (*viz.*

and then for Variety ſake rather than Neceſſity, by the Biſhops of *London* and *Wincheſter*, he diſmiſs'd them for that time, requiring 'em to attend on Wedneſday before him and his Council, and all his Biſhops, to receive ſuch Directions as he ſhall be pleaſed to give them therein. The Author of the M.S. concludes, with wiſhing that his Friend to whom he ſent the Account had been preſent at the Conference, which ſays he, in my Opinion, would have wrought in you as great Comfort and Joy as ever happened to you in this Mortal Life; to ſee and hear *ſo worthy a King and Prieſt in one Perſon*, with ſo Sacred a Majeſty, to propoſe, diſcuſs, and determine ſo many, ſo neceſſary, and ſo important Matters, ſo readily, ſo ſhortly, and ſo ſoundly, as I never look to ſee or hear the like again.

Whit-

" *Whitgift*'s Articles which we had before); and
" to avoid all Ambiquities, the Canon requires,
" that the Subſcriber ſet down both his Chriſti-
" an and Sirname, and declare he Subſcribes to
" the Articles and to all things therein con-
" tained, *willingly and ex animo*; which was an
home Thruſt at the Non-Conformiſts. Indeed
no one can View theſe Canons, but muſt con-
clude they were fram'd on purpoſe *to check and
cruſh the Puritans*: I'll give the Reader a taſte of
them.

ACCORDING to theſe Canons, " Whoever Can. 3.
" ſhould affirm that the Church of *England*
" by Law eſtabliſh'd is not a True and Apo- Can. 4.
" ſtolical Church; or that the Form of God's
" Worſhip in the Church of *England* eſtabliſh'd
" by Law, and contained in the Book of Com-
" mon Prayer and Adminiſtration of Sacra-
" ments, is Corrupt and Superſtitious; or that
" the Thirty Nine Articles are *in any Part* Er- 5.
" roneous; he muſt be Excommunicated *ipſo*
" *facto*, and not reſtor'd but by the Arch-biſhop
" or Biſhop after his Repentance, and publick
" Revocation of theſe his Wicked Errors. Who-
" ever ſhall affirm that the Rites and Ceremo-
" monies of the Church are Superſtitious, or 6.
" ſuch as Men, who are zealouſly and godly affe-
" cted, may not with a good Conſcience approve
" them; or that the Government of the Church
" of *England* by Arch-biſhops, Biſhops *&c.* is re-
" pugnant to the Word of God, or that the Form of
" conſecrating and making Biſhops, Prieſts and 7.
" Deacons, containeth any thing in it repug-
" nant to the Word of God, is to be Excommu-
" nicated. Whoſoever ſhall affirm that ſuch as
" refuſe to Subſcribe to the Form of God's Wor-
" ſhip in the Church of *England*, may truly take
" unto them the Name of another Church not

" eſtabliſh'd by Law, and dare complain of
" Grievances, or that there are within the
11. " Realm other Meetings, Aſſemblies, or Con-
" gregations, than ſuch as by Law are allow'd,
" which may challenge to themſelves the name
12. " of true and lawful Churches; or that ſhall
" affirm that any Miniſters or others may make
" Rules or Conſtitutions in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical,
" without the King's Authority; or ſhall ſubmit
" themſelves to be Govern'd by 'em; let them
" be Excommunicated, *ipſo facto*, and not re-
" ſtor'd, till they publickly revoke the Wicked
" and Anabaptiſtical Errors. According to
" theſe Canons, the Miniſter muſt admit none
" but ſuch as kneel at the Communion; none
27. " that refuſe to be preſent at publick Prayers,
" upon pain of Suſpenſion; and as none muſt
" be Baptiz'd without the Sign of the Croſs,
" with God-fathers and God-mothers, ſo no Fa-
" ther ſhall be admitted to anſwer as God-father
29. " for his own Child, nor be urg'd to be preſent;
68. " nor muſt the Miniſter refuſe to Baptize any
" that bring God-fathers, tho' *Jews* or *Turks*,
" unleſs the Children of the Excommunicated.

THESE were ſome of the Laws, which after ſo much Deliberation, and ſo many Years Conteſts and ſtruggling, were reſolv'd upon, for the future Government of the Church of *England*, *and perfecting the Reformation*: I have nothing here to ſay to 'em, only to obſerve, That they were not made, to fill up ſo many Pages in a Book, and to be ſet up in the Church as a Monument of the Wiſdom of this Convocation; but were diligently executed by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions and Courts, to the almoſt utter Suppreſſion of the Puritanical Party; who ſeem'd now to have no Remedy left but Prayers and Tears. At firſt they Petition'd for a Toleration, beg-

begging they might have leave to Worſhip God without Impoſitions, and Reform their own Churches according to the Rule of Scripture; but it was refus'd 'em; nor cou'd they get any ſhelter, (ſuch was the Violence of the Times and Fury of their Enemies) but were forc'd many of 'em, with their Families, to ſeek Sanctuary in the Deſerts of *America*; and to ſee if they cou'd get leave to Breath with a good Conſcience, and Sleep in a whole Skin, among the Salvages of the other Hemiſphere.

Calamy's Defence, Part 2. 179.

IN the next Reign matters remain'd much in the ſame Poſture, only carried higher when *Laud* came upon the Stage, and was fix'd in the See of *Canterbury*: By his means the Table was ſet Altar-wiſe, Rail'd in, and the Communicants were oblig'd to come up to the Rails of the Altar, and Kneel: He requir'd bowing at the Name of Jeſus, and commended bowing to the Eaſt; put down Afternoon Sermons; forbid all Weekly Lectures; preſs'd the Obſervation of Holidays; and, which was his Maſter-piece, *the better to promote Pure and Primitive Chriſtianity*, ſecure the Reformation, *and Confound the Puritans*, a Book of * Sports was ſet forth to be us'd on

Laud carries matters ſtill higher.

Vid. Conſtitutions 1640. in *Sparrow*.

Book of Sports.

* There had been a Declaration, *May* 21. 1618. giving Liberty to his loving Subjects, to uſe lawful Sports on *Sundays*, after Evening Prayers ended, put forth by *Bleſſed King James*. One occaſion of this was, that his Majeſty in his Progreſs thro' *Lancaſhire*, had taken Notice, that ſome Puritans and preciſe People, had hinder'd the People from uſing their lawful Recreations and *honeſt Exerciſes* on *Sundays*. Two Evils his Majeſty obſerv'd this produc'd; obſtructing the Converſion of Papiſts, and barring the Common People from ſuch Exerciſes, as might make their Bodies more able for War. The King therefore (out of his Princely Wiſdom) requires, that the Canons of the Church be obſerv'd, and that no Recreations be forbid that ſhall not tend to the Breach of the Canons of the Church. King *Charles*, his Son and Succeſſor, walking in his Father's ſteps, now takes occaſion to renew and confirm this Declaration. This was ſent by the ſeveral Biſhops to be publiſh'd by the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſſes. Some comply'd, others abſolutely refus'd; others ha-

Sunday, which must be publish'd by the Ministers in the Churches; and several other Devices he had to torture the Puritans, which he did to purpose; particularly in the high Commission Court, 'till he had forc'd a great number of 'em to † leave their Native Country, and follow their Brethren to *America*.

† If they cou'd, and were not hindred by Proclamation and Violence, as often they were.

ONE Stratagem it may be worth while to mention; he contriv'd ‖ an Oath to be taken by Archbishops, Bishops, and all other Priests. *Never to Consent to alter the Government of this Church*, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, *&c.* as it stands now Establish'd, and as by Right it ought to stand. And if any Ecclesiastical Person shall refuse to take the Oath, the Bishop shall give him a Month's time, after which, if he refuse, he shall be suspended *ab Officio*; and after another Month's deliberation, if he refuse; he must be suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*; and if after another Month's time to consider; he don't come to his Senses, but remain obstinate, he's depos'd: And to make sure work, all Masters of Arts, Physicians, School-masters, *&c.* were oblig'd to take it. 'Tis granted, these Canons were objected against, as of no Authority, as well as on other Accounts; tho' *Laud* boasts of the Unanimity with which they were pass'd; adding, I dare be bold to say, never any Synod sat in *Christendom*, that allow'd more freedom either of Speech or Vote. *Heylyn*

‖ Constitutions, 1640. Can. 6.

Compleat Hist. of *Eng.* Vol. 3. p. 102.

ving read the Declaration, took occasion to condemn the Practice. One of these, after reading the King's Declaration, read the 4th Command-ment, and in conclusion said, You have heard what the King commands, and what God commands; whether 'tis fit to obey God or Man? judge ye. However, this contrivance, as unworthy as 'twas, notably serv'd its end; for by making the People *nothing in Religion*, it prepar'd 'em to be *any thing* their Governours shou'd please; and besides exposed the Puritans to the further hatred of the Licentious Rabble; for their dislike *of so pious* a Government.

vindicated

vindicates * 'em with great Zeal, and tells us, that however ſome diſliked 'em, they found great approbation from others, particularly from Juſtice *Crook*; who having read over the Book of Canons, when it firſt came out, he lifted up his Hands, (which one wou'd not wonder at; what follows is more ſtrange) and gave hearty thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to ſee ſuch good Effects of a Convocation: But this I take to be no extraordinary Complement to former Convocations; the beſt that can be ſaid of 'em, is, that they did not laſt long; tho' it ſeems they were Executed at firſt; and *Fuller* ſays, to his certain Knowledge *ſome* were made to take the † Oath that accompanied 'em upon their Knees.

* Animad. on *Fuller's* Church Hiſt. p. 234.

† This Synod ſate after the Parliament was diſſolved, gave Subſidies, and injoyn'd Oaths, which, ſays Lord *Clarendon*, its certain it might not do. He adds, it did many things which in the beſt of times might have been queſtion'd, and drew the ſame Prejudice upon the whole Body of the Clergy, to which before only ſome few of the Clergy were expoſed. *Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars*, Vol. I. Part 1. pag. 148. 8vo.

WHAT has paſt ſince the Reſtoration, and during the Reign of King *Charles* II. I ſhan't here Relate; only obſerve, that after ſome ineffectual Endeavours about accommodating Matters in the Church, things return'd into their former Channel: No Advances are made towards perfecting the Reformation, nor any thing granted to thoſe that had ſo long inſiſted upon it; but inſtead of that, all the Old Conformity, and Laws and Canons belonging thereto are reviv'd; with an addition of ſome that were *further Grievances* and hardſhips upon the *Puritans*, now call'd NONCONFORMISTS; particularly 'twas required of 'em, by the Act of *Uniformity*, that they declare their unfeigned Aſſent and

Forms of Conformity yet harder after the Reſtoration.

Conſent to all and every thing contain'd, and preſcrib'd in and by the Book of *Common-Prayer*, &c. And in the ſame Act, they muſt declare for *Paſſive Obedience* and Non-Reſiſtance; and that 'tis not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; which Declaration was by the *Oxford-Act*, 1668. required of 'em upon Oath; and yet about 20 Years after, the Nation thought themſelves obliged to go quite contrary thereto; and had they not done ſo, and taken up Arms againſt King *James*, and thoſe that were Commiſſion'd by him; in all probability we and our Poſterity had been Slaves, and the Cauſe of the Reformation ruin'd at a blow. I'll only add, by the ſame Act the Perſons that had in their Day from the very beginning of the Reformation, been contending for greater Purity; *were now to be ſworn againſt any farther Reformation*; which in effect they were, when they took an Oath never to endeavour any Alteration of the Government either in Church or State: What hardſhips and ſufferings were hereby brought upon theſe Men, is not forgot: By the firſt Act above 2000 were turn'd out of their Livings, without any proviſion for them and their Families; tho' care was taken of the Popiſh Clergy, that wou'd not Conform in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; and of the Epiſcopal Clergy, when outed by the Parliament; (they having a ſixth part of their Livings allowed 'em) but theſe, as if they were Sinners above all that went before them, muſt have *no Mercy*, but are Silenc'd with Diſgrace, and in a Senſe made to wear their Faggot; nay, are baniſh'd five Miles from any Corporation, or other Place where they had been Miniſters; by which means they were depriv'd the kindneſs of their Friends, who might

Oxford Act.

By the *Oxford* Act.

might have been ready, in requital of the Care formerly taken of their Souls, to have taken ſome care of their Miniſters Bodies. But 'tis time to paſs off this Subject, in which I have far exceeded my Intention. I have endeavour'd to repreſent, as conciſely as I cou'd, how the Reformation was begun and carried on; with what Councils and upon what Principles 'twas Conducted; what Rubs it met with in its way, and what the preſent State of it is. Two or three Deductions from hence are obvious, with which I ſhall cloſe this Head.

(1.) THAT there has been *ſomething* of Nonconformity, ever ſince the beginning of the Reformation; tho' the Matter of it has been *different*, according as the ſtate of things in the Church has varied from time to time. In King *Henry* VIIIth's Reign, conſiderable Numbers loſt their Lives for Nonconformity; becauſe they wou'd not comply with his Eſtabliſhment of Religion, and with what he thought a ſufficient Reformation, (*i. e.*) with a ſort of Popery. In King *Edward*'s time, the Popiſh Veſtments, Ceremonies, *&c.* were the main offence: *Hooper* cou'd ſcarce prevail with himſelf to come into the Church, and accept a Biſhoprick, *on the account of the Habits*, which he ſcrupled. The Hiſtory of which Matter may be ſeen at large in † *Strype*. Dr. *Burnet* * ſums it up in a few Words; "He refus'd, ſays he, to be Conſecrated "in the Epiſcopal Veſtments (the Chimere, "Rochet, ſquare Cap, *&c.*). The grounds he "went on were, That they were humane In- "ventions, brought in by Tradition or Cuſtom, "not ſuitable to the Chriſtian Religion; that "all ſuch Ceremonies were condemn'd by *Paul* "as *Beggarly Elements*; that theſe Veſtments "had been invented chiefly for the celebrating "Maſs

Nonconformity from the beginning, tho' different as to the matter of it.

† Memor. of *Cran.* p. 211.

* Hiſt. Reformat. part 2. pag. 152.

" Maſs with much Pomp, and had been Conſe-
" crated for that end. But theſe Objections were not thought ſufficient: It was ſtill inſiſted upon, that he muſt comply or be excluded, and the Contention was ſo ſharp, that *Hooper* was ſuſpended, and Impriſon'd in the *Fleet*. The King writes to *Cranmer* in his behalf, moving that he may be diſpens'd with; and, on the other hand, Foreign Divines write to *Hooper*, blaming him for deſerting ſo great a Poſt of Service (at a time when the Church ſo much needed his help) for thoſe Scruples; whereupon he complies, having ſome Conceſſions made in his favour, and is Conſecrated.

THE chief Manager of this Controverſy againſt *Hooper*, and ſtickler for the Veſtments, was *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*: But the Flames kindled in that unſeaſonable Debate, were ſoon after extinguiſhed by thoſe of Queen *Mary*'s Reign; whatever they were before, they now appear'd good Friends, *when bound with the ſame Chain*: Several Letters paſs'd betwixt 'em while Priſoners; in one of which *Ridley* thus expreſſes himſelf; " Your Wiſdom and my Simplicity have
" formerly claſh'd, each one following the a-
" bundance of his own Senſe; but now he aſ-
" ſur'd him, that in the Bowels of Chriſt, he
" lov'd him in the Truth, and for the Truth.

SOME ſcrupled others of the Ceremonies and Rites, as the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Uſe of God-fathers and God-mothers, and their Anſwering in the Child's Name: Kneeling at the Sacrament, *&c.* Some objected againſt the Liturgy, and therefore inſtead of it, us'd the *Frankfort* Directory and Forms: Some us'd a part of it, and omitted the reſt; and ſome, it ſeems, us'd *none at all.* † Biſhop *Bancroft* takes notice of one Mr. *Field.* that in a Letter to Mr. *Asker*, tells

† Dangerous Poſitions, p. 84.

tells him, that he preach'd every Sabbath Day, having nothing to do at all with the former Book of Common-Prayer.

BUT that which has ever ſtuck moſt with theſe Men, is the Defects in Church-Government, and want of Diſcipline. "The old "Nonconformiſts, (ſays * one of the latter) "thought the frame of *Engliſh* Prelatical Go- "vernment, was far worſe than all their Cere- "monies, and other Corruptions ſet together; "and that upon ſuch accounts as theſe, that the "largeneſs of the Dioceſſes makes Diſcipline "impoſſible, and keeps wicked Men in the Bo- "ſom of the Church: All the Biſhops that ſhou'd "be in the larger Dioceſſes are put down, ſave "one; and the Pariſh Miniſters reſtrain'd from "the uſe of the Keys: Secular Courts are ſet "up under the name of Eccleſiaſtick; and the "Decretive Power of the Keys put into the "hands of Lay-men; Paſtors are ſet up over all "the Land, without the conſent of the Flock, "by the meer Will of Patrons. And the ſame Author † elſewhere ſpeaking of the Exiles at *Frankfort*, ſays, "One part of them were for "Dioceſans, and the *Engliſh* Liturgy and Cere- "monies, that they might no more than needs "depart from the Papiſts; nor ſeem inconſtant, "in departing from what King *Edward* had be- "gun. The other were for *Calvin*'s Diſcipline, "and way of Worſhip; for the ſetting up a Pa- "rochial Diſcipline inſtead of a Dioceſan, and "to have a Government in every particular "Church; and not only one over a thouſand or "many hundred Churches; and for a plain and "ſerious way of Worſhip, ſuited, as near as "poſſible, to God's Word. And this has all along (together with ſubſcription) been the chief Matter of Nonconformity: This kept ſome of the

* Mr. *Baxter's Engl.* Nonconformity. *pa.* 133.

† Life, *p.* 32.

the old Puritans out of the Church, and made others of 'em uneasy in it. They pleaded strongly for the Restoring of Discipline, on which account they were call'd *Disciplinarians:* And when they cou'd not be heard, some of 'em endeavour'd, in a private way, to mend Matters among themselves, (tho' this was generally so offensive to the Government, as to bring 'em under Suffering). To which purpose, in some places, a number of 'em wou'd, by voluntary Agreement, resolve upon certain Heads of Discipline to be observ'd in their Churches; Thus at *Wadsworth* in *Surrey*, several enter'd into a sort of Combination. *Fuller* calls it, *a Presbytery*, and says, " It was the first-born of all the Presbyteries in " *England*, and that eleven Elders were chosen, " their Offices and general Rules agreed upon, " and describ'd. Others say, the meaning of it was no more than this, " That the Queen " and Bishops Orders extending no farther for " the trial and fitness of Communicants, than " if they cou'd say the Creed, Lord's Prayer, " and ten Commandments; some Ministers a- " greed upon a stricter Examination, and the " People made choice of ten or eleven Persons " to be present at that action. Several up and down the Kingdom attempted something of the same kind; and particularly insisted upon the excluding the Ignorant and Prophane from the Lord's Table; which has been the unchangeable Principle of the Puritans or Nonconformists; and it seems was ent'ring at the very beginning of the Reformation; as appears from the Ecclesiastical Laws compil'd by King *Edward*'s Commissions; One of which is, * " That they will

lib. 9. pa. 103.

Hist. Conformity, pa. 10.

* Neminem ad mensam Domini volumus admitti, donec fidem in Ecclesia professus fuerit. Tit. de Sacramentis, cap. 5.

" have

" have none admitted to the Table, till he " make Profeſſion of his Faith in the Church.

IN ſhort, tho' all the Nonconformiſts agreed in this, *That the Reformation was imperfect*; and that they ought to have gone further; yet *then and ever ſince*, they have had a different Latitude: I know not well how to repreſent this better, than in the Words of *Beza* to *Grindal*; he ſays, " There was a twofold Opinion con- " cerning the Reformation of the Church. " Firſt, of ſome that thought nothing ought to " be added to the *Apoſtolical Simplicity*; and " whatſoever the Church that ſucceeded the A- " poſtles added to the firſt Rites, was to be " aboliſh'd at once On the other ſide, there were " ſome that were of Opinion that certain ancient " Rites beſides ought to be retain'd; partly as pro- " fitable and neceſſary; partly if not neceſſary, " yet to be tolerated for Concord ſake; but for " himſelf, he declares he was of Opinion with " the former. Now as the Reformers acted upon theſe different Principles, ſo they have had ſome influence upon the Nonconformiſts; One ſort rejecting every thing, that is, *beſides the Rule*, and that they thought a *humane Addition*; another ſort being willing for Peace ſake to ſubmit to ſuch humane Regulations, as are not downright Sinful, and don't groſly corrupt the Worſhip, or exclude the Diſcipline of Chriſt; ſo that theſe don't ſtand out ſo much upon matter of Ceremony, (tho' * they wou'd be glad to have their Liberty here, and are againſt Impoſitions) as on other accounts.

Strype's Life of *Grindal*, pa. 113.

(2.) 'TIS plain, † tho' the Practice of thoſe now call'd Nonconformiſts has varied in the ſeveral Ages they liv'd in; ſometimes you find 'em in the Church, and ſometimes out of it, *Yet they have ſtill been true to their great Principle*: Few

* Hiſtory of Conform. pa. 9.

† Nonconformiſts have acted upon the ſame Principles, tho' ſometimes in the Church & ſometimes out of it.

or

or none ſeparated in King *Edward*'s time, and but few in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. Biſhop *Bancroft* indeed in his dangerous Poſitions, ſays, that in the firſt ten or eleven Years of the Queen's Reign, *many* of the People ſeparated, meeting in Woods and Fields; but they cou'd not be many Comparatively; nor does it appear they had any Miniſters of account to head them. Thoſe taken at *Plummers-Hall*, ſeem to be among the firſt that met in any conſiderable Numbers: *Strype* † tells us, "They "wholly rejected the Book of Common-Prayer, "and us'd a Book of Prayers form'd at *Geneva*, "for the *Engliſh* Exiles there: At thoſe Meet-"ings they had not only Prayers and Sermons, "but ſometimes the Lord's Supper adminiſter'd, "which gave great Offence. But ordinarily they did not ſeparate, not being oblig'd to declare their Approbation of the Forms and Ceremonies, and being diſpens'd with ſometimes as to the uſe of 'em; but at length when new Laws were made, and Subſcriptions were enjoin'd, their Caſe was viſibly alter'd, and ſo was their Conduct; This drove Multitudes out of the Church, and has kept 'em out of it until this Day.

† *Strype*'s Life of *Grindal*, pa. 114.

The old Puritans muſt have been *Non-conformiſts* in our Day.

(3.) I think it evident that the Old Puritans *that ſtood for a farther Reformation*, and yet did not withdraw from the Eſtabliſh'd Church, wou'd have been *forc'd* to have done it upon their own Principles, *had they liv'd in our Times*; for *1ſt*, It appears from the former Hiſtory, that they had much ado to go the length they did, and comply with the Terms of Communion then enjoyn'd; they thought the Forms of Worſhip and Plan of Government *but juſt tolerable*, and ſubmitted to it only to avoid greater Inconveniencies. 2. They were excus'd from a great

great deal ſince required. The Act of Uniformity, I dare ſay, wou'd have ſilenc'd the whole Body of 'em, unleſs they had renounced the Principles they had ſo often, and ſo publickly avow'd. What wou'd *John Fox*, for inſtance, and ſuch as he, have ſaid to the Declarations and Oaths that have been ſince impos'd, who roundly told them, he would ſubſcribe to nothing but the New Teſtament in *Greek*? 3. They ſtill liv'd in hopes of having things mended, and the Reformation carried on; and 'twas upon this View and Proſpect that many of 'em kept in the Church, ſtill bearing Teſtimony againſt Corruptions, endeavouring in their Place to ſet in order the things that were wanting. 'Tis certain, theſe cou'd never have ſwallow'd the *Oxford* Oath; that oblig'd them *never to endeavour any Alteration* in the Government of the Church, *i. e.* to have Reformed any more. 'Tis harſh, methinks, to ſay, the Oath only intended never to endeavour *unlawfully* (for nothing may be ſo endeavour'd) and implies a Jeſuitical Equivocation, by which a Man may ſwear to any thing in the World: So that theſe things conſider'd, I think it needs no further Proof, that the ſame Principles which kept the *Old Puritans* in the Church, *wou'd have kept moſt of their Succeſſors there*; and that the ſame Impoſitions that have excluded the latter, wou'd have excluded them alſo, had they been try'd with 'em. Once more, (4.) 'Tis eaſy to Collect from the foregoing brief account of Matters, what the chief Defects of the Reformation are in the judgment of theſe Men; and what they have ſtood out upon, and been Contending for all along. They *wou'd not have the Worſhip of God burthen'd with Ceremonies, that are Popiſh or Pagan in their Original; or if any will retain ſome of 'em as indifferent*

The Defects of the Reformation.

ferent things; they desire they may be left Indifferent, and not made necessary by a rigorous Imposition. They wou'd have the Holy Scripture not only declar'd to be the only Rule of Faith, Worship and Practice, but us'd as such; and that no Laws shou'd be made to exclude Men out of this or that Church here on Earth, who are manifestly according to Christ's Gospel qualified for Heav'n, and willing to submit to any necessary Rules for Church-Communion. They wou'd have Episcopacy, so much extended by Papal Pride and Usurpation, reduc'd within the Bounds of Christ's Institution; and that those who bear Rule over People shou'd speak to 'em the Word of the Lord. Or if superiour Officers be allow'd with a larger Jurisdiction, and distinguish'd Titles, superintending several Churches; these shou'd not deprive the Pastors of every Church of any Power that Christ hath intrusted 'em with, or that's necessary to the due execution of their Office, nor be own'd of Divine Right; Bishop and Presbyter not being two Officers, but two Names for one and the same Officer, as was the common Opinion at the Reformation †. They joyn with their Brethren in the acknowledgment they make every

† *The Institution of a Christian Man*, set forth in King *Henry* VIIIth's time, by Authority of King and Parliament, and compil'd by a Synod of the Clergy, expresly says, "*In novo Testa-*" *mento, nulla mentio facta est aliorum Graduum aut di-*" *stinctionum in Ordinibus, sed Diaconorum (vel Ministro-*" *rum) & Presbyterorum, sive Episcoporum*, i. e. That we " have no mention in the New Testament of any other " Degrees or different Orders, than Deacons and Pres-" byters, or Bishops. And we find about this time, several of the Bishops imploy'd in the Reformation under that Prince, declaring the same Sentiments. Thus *Cranmer* to the Question, Whether Bishops or Priests were first, answers, " The Bishops and Priests were at " one time, and were not two things in the beginning of Christ's Reli-" gion; *Burnet*'s Hist. Part 1. Collect. pag. 223. with whom concurr'd others of the Bishops, as is plainly imply'd in their Answers to the same Question. Ibid. pag. 393. Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Irenicon*, having given from the Original M.S. an account of *Cranmer*'s Judgment touching this

Bishop and Presbyter own'd to be the same at the beginning of the Reformation.

Ash-

Ash-Wednesday, *that there was a certain godly Discipline in the Primitive Church; and heartily desire with them that it might be restored; and that Offenders against the Laws of Christ, and the Sacred Rules of the Gospel, may be dealt with in particular Churches by Solemn Admonition and Reproof, &c. and not be suffer'd to Communicate, and buy off the Censure with a little Money. They would have every thing managed in the Church according to the three great Apostolical Canons.*

Let all things be done decently and in Order, 1 Cor. 14.40
Let all things be done to Edifying, 1 Cor. 14.26
Let all things be done with Charity. 1 Cor. 16.14

and sundry other Questions propos'd, concludes with this Remark; " Thus we see by the Testimony of him who was chiefly Instrumental in " our Reformation, that he own'd not Episcopacy as a distinct Order " from Presbytery, of Divine Right, only as a prudent Constitution of " the Civil Magistrate for the better Governing the Church. And that this was not the peculiar Notion of *Cranmer*, and his Brethren at that time, might easily be shown. *Cressey*, after he turn'd Papist, gives this Reason why Episcopacy took no firm Rooting in the Consciences of *English* Subjects, before *Laud*'s time: " Because, says he, the Succession and " Authority of Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Orders *receiv'd from the* " Roman *Church*, was *never* confidently and generally taught in *England* " to be of Divine Right. Dr. *John Raynolds* in his Answer to Sir *Francis Knolls*, who desir'd his Opinion touching the difference between Bishops and Presbyters, tells him, that they who for these 500 Years have been Industrious in Reforming the Church, have thought that *all Pastors*, whether call'd Bishops or Presbyters, have according to the Word of God, *like Power and Authority:* He instances in the *Waldenses*, *Marsilius Petavius*, *Wickliff* and his Disciples, *Huss* and the *Hussites*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Berentius*, *Bullinger* and *Musculus*; and many Bishops among us, as *Jewel* and *Pillington*, and many Professors in our Academies; as Dr. *Humphreys*, and Dr. *Whittaker*, and other learned Men, as *Bradford*, *Lambert*, and others, of whom *Fox* speaks in his Acts and Monuments; and he afterwards avers it to be the common Opinion of the Reformed Churches in *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, *France*, *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, *Hungary* and *Poland*. *Vide Dr.* Calamy's *Defence*, Part 1. pa. 88. I don't mention these things as the Reasons of the Persons I am now speaking of, why they plead for Identity of Bishops and Presbyters; only to show how the Matter was apprehended at that time; and the Nonconformists have often given their Reasons why they concur in the same Apprehensions with the first Reformers.

And

And whatever Canons of Men made on Pretence of ſerving the firſt of theſe, ruin the latter; they eſteem of no Authority and would reject: In a word, as the Church, when it firſt had the Protection and Countenance of Civil Governors, was very much changed in the External Form and Polity of it, in compliance with the Model of the Empire (as was hinted before), they deſire that in the Reformation of it they may not ſtop there, but bring it back again to Times of greater Simplicity and Purity. This in general, is what they have been long pleading and praying for. In the mean time (to conclude with the Words of a very worthy Author)

Bp. *Burnet*'s Hiſt. Reformation Part 3d. *p.* 331.

"They deſire to adhere firmly to the Doctrine "of the Apoſtles, and continue in their Fel- "lowſhip in Sacraments and Prayers ſuitable to "the Rules laid down by them; contending "earneſtly for the Faith once deliver'd to the "Saints, improving all the Advantages they "have, and bearing with all the Defects they "labour under; uſing their beſt Endeavours to "have them Redreſs'd; yet ſtill keeping the "Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, "waiting for ſuch a Glorious Juncture, as may "reſtore every thing amongſt us to a Primitive "Purity and Splendor, which God may perhaps "grant to the Prayers of thoſe that call upon "him Day and Night for it."

The Hiſt. of Plots againſt the Reformat.

BUT now I proceed to the principal Branch of my Undertaking, which is to give ſome Account of the *Attempts againſt the Reformation*, the Plots and Conſpiracies of our Enemies to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion ever ſince its happy Eſtabliſhment in this Iſland; and of the many Deliverances and Salvations which God hath wrought for us.

I muſt cut this Work as ſhort as conveniently I can, and therefore ſhall but touch upon ſome Facts

Facts that are moſt Material, and direct to my Purpoſe, not pretending to a full Hiſtory; and the better to introduce the Account I am to give, I ſhall premiſe three or four things chiefly concerning the Papiſts, who have been the Principal, tho' not the only Plotters. 1. That according to the Doctrine and Principles of *Rome*, the Pope as Head of the Church and Vicar of Chriſt, *is Supream Lord and Univerſal Soveraign of all the Empires in the World*; under whom the ſeveral Princes thereof hold their Crowns, on whom they depend for their Titles, and to whom they are accountable for their Adminiſtration; juſt as if what the Devil offer'd Chriſt in his Temptation had been made good to his pretended Vicar, *That if he would fall down and Worſhip him, he would give him all the Kingdoms of the World and the Glory of them.** *Zanchez* ſpeaks home, when he ſaith that by Natural, Moral and Divine Law, we muſt believe that the Pope hath the immediate and only Rule of the whole World in Temporals as well as in Spirituals; all Imperial Authority depending ſo much upon him, that it is alterable, puniſhable or null as he ſhall Command; and this is what their Popes have actually claim'd: Witneſs *Hildebrand*, that depos'd the Emperor *Henry* IV. *by the Authority*, as he ſays, *given him by God, of binding and looſing, both in Heaven and Earth.* In one of his Bulls againſt him, he implores the Aſſiſtance of *Peter* and *Paul* in his Excommunication and Depoſition of the Emperor; adding, "That the "World may know that as they have Power to "bind and looſe in Heaven, ſo they have Power on "Earth to take away Empires, Kingdoms, Prin-"cipalities, Dukedoms, Earldoms, and the Poſ-"ſeſſions of all Men."

Popiſh Principles lead to Plotting againſt and murthering Proteſtants.

* Foulis. Pop. Treaſons, *p.* 38.

Bullarium Rom. Annot. 1638. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 49.

AND it ſeems they pretend to ſuch Abſoluteneſs of Soveraignty, that when they have a

Mind to deprive any Princes of their Dominions, they may do it, *ex mero Motu*, purely becauſe they will; and none may ſay to them what doſt thou, or why doſt thou ſo: Let *Bozius* be our Voucher for this; Altho', ſays he, the King be Lawful, and not only ſo but Underſtanding, Careful, Powerful, one of the Pope's Religion, and Godly too; yet can the Pope take his Empire or Kingdoms from him, and give it to another, *altho' there be no Neceſſity for ſo doing*; it being enough that he think it only convenient, nay it ſeems the Pope's Right is *inalienable*; he has neither deriv'd his Soveraignty from another, nor can he give away any part of it; and by ſpecial Favour place Temporal Kings in a State of Independency upon himſelf: To this purpoſe is that of *Auguſtinus Triumphus*, who in a Book he wrote at the Command of Pope *John* 21 (or 22) ſays, that if we meet with any Emperors to have given any Temporal Privileges or Lands to any Popes (as *Conſtantine* to *Sylveſter*) we muſt here underſtand that they did *not at all give what was their own to give*, but only *reſtore* that which had formerly been taken from them, by *Tyranny and Injuſtice*; or if we read of any Popes to have given any ſuch Temporal Benefits, we muſt ſuppoſe that it was done more *for Peace ſake*, than really to give to others a true Title to them; the Reaſon of both theſe is, that the Pope is *Jure Divino* without any Grant from Men *Lord of all*; and this Right is ſo full and abſolute as Chriſt's Repreſentative, that he cannot transfer it to another, but all muſt neceſſarily remain his Subjects.

Foulis Ibid. p. 38.

Ibid p. 27.

2. IT is an avow'd Principle of the Romaniſts, *that Princes by Hereſie*, or Apoſtaſie from the Holy Catholick Church, meaning the *Roman* Church, *forfeit all Right and Title to their Crowns*, and may be depos'd whenever his Holineſs pleaſes.

There

There are indeed ſundry Cauſes of Deprivation; as dulneſs of Capacity, the diminiſhing the Privileges of the Church, Tyranny, or any other Perſonal Fault, which the Pope thinks renders Princes unfit for Government. Thus *Gregory* III. depos'd *Childerick* King of *France*, abſolv'd his Subjects from their Oath of *Allegiance*; not ſo much for his Iniquities, as becauſe he was *Unprofitable* ſays *Gratian*; not for Inſufficiency, ſays the *Gloſs*, but becauſe he was Diſſolute and Effeminate. Vid. Pet. Molnœus de Monar. temporal. Pontif. Rom. p. 100

BUT the *main Cauſe* is *Hereſy*. "Princes, "ſays *Bellarmine*, are receiv'd into the Church "with an expreſs or *Tacit* Compact, that they "ſhall ſubmit their Scepters unto Chriſt; de- "fend and preſerve the Faith under the Penalty "of forfeiting their Crowns; therefore if once "they fall into Hereſie, or turn Enemies to Re- "ligion, *they may be judg'd by the Church*, and "depos'd without any Injury to them." And *Vaſquez* determines to the ſame purpoſe, "That "'Tis in the Pope's Power to puniſh Princes, "and that the Crime of Hereſie is of ſuch Force "that no Hereticks are capable of Rule; ſo that "the Kingdom muſt chuſe ſome Body elſe, *viz.* "him whom the Pope may aſſign; and if they "refuſe, he may bring him in by force of "Arms." *Raymund* carries the Matter ſomewhat further; he ſays, "A Prince may be "Excommunicated and depos'd by the Pope, not "only for Hereſie, *but if he be negligent to ex- "tirpate Hereſie*, which is but agreeable to the Decree of the *Lateran Council*, which they call general, mention'd before. Indeed Hereſie according to them, deprives Soveraigns and Subjects too of their Rights, Claims, Enjoyments, and leaves thoſe that are charged with it to the Mercy of Catholicks; who by Divine Right become Lords de Roman Pontif. l. 5. cap. 7. *Foulis's* Poliſh Treaſ. p. 39.

over them and all they Enjoy; ſo ſays the famous *Lateran Council*; "The Goods of Here-
"ticks are *ipſo facto*, and immediately confiſ-
"cated; they have no further Right to them,
"nor can they with a good Conſcience retain
"them."

3. As *Hereticks* are by Law and Right depriv'd of all they have, the Pope can *Authorize the Orthodox Members* of the Church, *i. e.* his own Subjects *to take Poſſeſſion*; and whatever means are neceſſary thereunto, *he can Legitimate* and make Lawful; as Poiſoning, Aſſaſinating, Blowing up with Gun-powder, *&c.* 'Tis an approv'd thing among 'em, a Caſe deliberately determin'd by the Infallible Head of the Church, that killing of Kings and Queens Excommunicated by the Pope is no Murder; nay that 'tis meritorious to deſtroy Hereticks; which was the Argument *Walpole* the *Engliſh* Jeſuit us'd with *Squire* to perſwade him to kill Queen *Elizabeth*; which he told him might eaſily be done, by poiſoning the Pomel of her Saddle: *Squire* is drawn to undertake the Fact; the Jeſuit † bleſſes him, and

Vid. *Bullum*, Greg. XIII. 1ſt of *July* 158c.

† As they encourage the Murder of ſuch Princes as they call *Hereticks* ſo they have a Solemn Form of preparing an Aſſaſſin for his Undertaking; which, tho' ſomewhat long, I ſhall be excuſed if I here Inſert. The Perſon deſigned for the Work is ſecretly introduced into the Meditory or Oratory: There a Knife wrapped up in Linnen is taken out of an Ivory Caſe, marked all round with various Characters, together with an *Agnus Dei*. Upon this, as it is drawn out of the Sheath, they drop Holy Water, and hang Conſecrated Coral Beads upon the Haft, granting an Indulgence of delivering as many Souls out of Purgatory, as he ſhall give Wounds to the Prince whom they deſign to Aſſaſſin: Then they put the Knife into the Hand of the *Parricide*, recommending it in theſe Words, *Elect Son of God, take this Sword of* Jepthah, *the Sword of* Sampſon, *the Sword of* David, *with which he cut off* Goliah's *Head*; *the Sword of* Gideon, *the Sword of* Judith, *the Sword of the* Maccabees, *the Sword of the Pope, by which he has delivered himſelf from the Hands of Princes, having ſpilt very much Blood in their Dominions*; *Go and be prudently Couragious, may God ſtrengthen thy Arm.* This being done, they all fall down upon their Knees, and the Chief of them pronounces this Exorciſm: *Be Preſent ye Cherubim*; *be*

pro-

promiſes him Eternal Salvation; and ſo having Sworn him to Secrecy, ſends him to *England*, where he was Taken, confeſs'd his villanous Deſign, and was executed in the Year 1598. *Cambden* that relates this Paſſage further adds, that a Peſtilent Opinion was got among the Papiſts, that to take away Kings Excommunicate, was nothing elſe but to Weed the Cockle out of the Lord's Field: And the ſame Conſideration was laid before *Parry*, another Tool engag'd in the like Enterprize, *viz.* to kill the Queen. He receives a Letter from Cardinal *Como*, in which he tells him, *That his* Holineſs *commended his* Hiſt. of Q. *Elizabeth.*

Preſent Seraphim, ye Thrones, ye Powers; be Preſent ye Holy Angels, and fill this Bleſſed Veſſel with perpetual Glory, and every Day offer him the Crown of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, *of the Holy Patriarchs and Martyrs; He is no longer a Member of our Communion, but yours; And thou, O God, who art Terrible and Invincible, and who in the Meditory haſt put it into his Heart to deſtroy a Tyrant and Heretick, and confer his Crown on a Catholick King, ſtrengthen we Beſeech Thee, his Hands, and encreaſe his Courage, that he may accompliſh his Will; Give him an Omnipotent Mail whereby he may eſcape the Hands of thoſe who would Apprehend him; give him Wings, by which his Holy Members may eſcape the Endeavours of barbarous Betrayers, pour into his Soul thy Cheering Rays, by which his Body, without Fear, in the midſt of Dangers and Tortures, may be animated with Joy and Exultation. After this Exorciſm, the Parricide is brought before the Altar, over which is painted the Hiſtory of* Jaques Clement, *a* Dominican *Monk, with the Images of Angels protecting him, and carrying him to Heaven.* This the Jeſuits ſhow him, and withal, preſent him an Heavenly Crown, ſaying, *Regard, O Lord, this thine Arm, and the Executor of thy Juſtice; Let all thy Saints ariſe and give him Place:* After theſe Ceremonies four Jeſuits are deputed to Talk with the *Parricide* alone; theſe during their Diſcourſe, are wont often to ſay, that there appears in him a Divine ſort of Brightneſs, by the radiancy of which they are moved to kiſs his Hands and Feet; and that he no longer ſeems to them to be a Man, but a Heavenly Saint; they pretend alſo to Envy the great Glory and Bleſſedneſs to which he is now advanced, Sighing, and Saying, *Would to God I had been Choſen in thy Room, that being delivered from the Puniſhment of Purgatory, I might have gone directly to Paradiſe:* But if he whom they judge proper to perpetrate the Murder be backwards and reluctant, then they either force him to make ſuch a Vow by nightly Bugbears, and monſtrous Spectres; or animate and introduce him to the Enterprize, by contriving Apparitions of the *Virgin Mary*, or Angels, or other Saints, and ſometimes of *Ignatius* and his Followers.

good Reſolution and Diſpoſition that he had towards the common Good, exhorts him to perſevere and bring to Effect what he had promiſed; and that he might be the more aſſiſted by the good Spirit which had mov'd him thereunto; *his* Holineſs *granted unto him his Bleſſing, plenary Indulgence and Remiſſion of all Sin; aſſuring him that beſides the Merit he ſhould receive in Heaven for ſo doing, his* Holineſs *will make himſelf Debtor to him on Earth, &c.* What Influence this had upon the Wretch, we may learn from his own Confeſſion; *The Enterprize*, ſays, he, *Commended and allow'd, and my ſelf Abſolv'd in his* Holineſs's *Name of all my Sins, and will'd to go forward in the Name of God, it confirm'd my Reſolution to kill her, and made it † clear in my Conſcience, that it was Lawful and Meritorious.*

Foulis Pop. Trea. *p.* 339 340.

† Such is the Deluſion of theſe Mens Conſciences, that they believe Cheating and Murdering Proteſtants *Meritorious*, or rather that to deprive them of Goods and Life, is not Cheating and Murder; many of the *Iriſh* Cut-Throats were encouraged by the ſame Conſideration that influenced *Parry*. The Prieſts gave ſome of them the Sacrament upon condition they ſhould neither ſpare Man, Woman, nor Child of the Proteſtants; and the Day before the Maſſacre began, it is ſaid, the Prieſts diſmiſs'd the People from Maſs, with Power and Exhortation too, given to go forth, ſtrip, ſpoil, *&c.* their Proteſtant Neighbours, being aſſured it was *no more Sin to kill a Proteſtant than a Dog*; Nay, to kill ſuch was Meritorious, and a rare Preſervative againſt the Pains of Purgatory, which did not a little enliven the cruel Zeal of the Murderers; ſome of them were heard to ſay after they had been buſie ſlaughtering *Hereticks, That they knew if they ſhould die preſently they ſhould go ſtraight to Heaven*: Some prevailed with the Proteſtants that hid their beſt Goods, to diſcover them to 'em, promiſing their Protection, and when they had done, ſeized the Goods and murdered the Perſons; and all this they can do, *plaudente conſcientia*, expecting after ſo much Villany in this World, a Reward in the next.

NOR is the rankeſt Diſſimulation, Lying, Treachery or Forgery deem'd a Sin, if it tend to the Service of the Church; witneſs the *Paris-Maſſacre*, a thing Infamous to the laſt Degree with all but Men of thoſe Principles; where many

many Thouſands of the *Hugonots* being invited to the King of *Navar*'s Marriage, were in the midſt of Careſſes and all imaginable Aſſurances of Friendſhip, barbarouſly murder'd by the *French* King's expreſs Order. Here fell the Great *Coligni* Admiral of *France*, butchered by the baſeſt Ruffians; who having rudely inſulted his Naked Body, cut off his Head, and ſent it as a Preſent to *Rome*, where it was receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy: The Meſſenger that brought the firſt News of the monſtrous Fact, had the Reward given him of 1000 Crowns; the Letter was read in the *Conclave*; their Churches reſounded with *Te Deum*, the Cannons Diſcharg'd, Bonefires made; a Jubilee publiſh'd throughout all *Chriſtendom*; a Grand Proceſſion was undertaken to the Church of *St. Lewis*, where was the Nobility, Biſhops, Cardinals, ſeveral Embaſſadors; the Pope himſelf under a Canopy, his Train being held up by the Emperor's Embaſſador; and the better to retain in Memory this Glorious Fact, the Pope had it painted about his great Hall in the *Lateran* and there Recorded in Marble. *Ibid, p.* 324.

SO that we ſee the Latitude of Holy Church in theſe Matters, and upon what Terms Proteſtants ſtand with them. The Service of the Church is their Supream Law; *The Church, The Church is the Word*, which like the Philoſophers Stone turns all into Gold it touches; it can change the Nature of Things, and make an Action that in the Judgment of all the reſt of the World deſerves a Halter, merit a Canonization, a Title to greater Honours here on Earth, and a brighter Crown in Heaven: The good End they have ſanctifies the Means; and what the Apoſtle rejects with Abhorrence as a Slander upon them, that they ſhould ſay, *Let us do Evil*

Evil that Good may come of it; theſe Men eaſily admit. The deſtroying Hereticks and promoting the Catholick Cauſe, will juſtify any thing, tho' of the blackeſt Nature; eſpecially if it gain the Pope's Approbation and Bleſſing.

I might take Notice of the ſtrange Boldneſs with which they ſometimes act in their Zeal for Holy Church, and againſt thoſe they call Hereticks; they'll face the moſt terrible Death, and chearfully Sacrifice themſelves to advance their Cauſe. Inſtances of this kind are common; the late Biſhop of *Sarum* tells us, the Primate of *Ireland*, *Goodacre*, that was concerned in the Reformation there was poiſon'd by a Monk (in a Popiſh Houſe where he was invited;) that drank to him in a poiſon'd Liquor of which they *both* died. My Author ſays, he had this from a worthy Clergy-man not far from *Salisbury* of that Family, being the Fourth in Deſcent from the Primate.

Hiſt. Refor. Part III. *p.* 260.

4. THESE being the Principles of that horrid Faction of Men that call themſelves the Holy Catholick Church; they having ſet one at the Head of them with a fulneſs of Power over all the World; and having diſputed Hereticks, (*i. e.* all the Chriſtians on Earth that refuſe to ſubmit to their Uſurpations) out of all Poſſeſſions, and depriv'd them of all Rights: The pretended Head of the Church, and Lord of the World, has often, agreeable to ſuch Principles, exerted himſelf, thunder'd out Anathema's and Curſes againſt Princes, and conſign'd their Kingdoms to utter Deſtruction; he has particularly done it towards us in theſe Kingdoms once and again; and that the Curſe is not come, is neither owing to their Mercy nor our Merit; but purely to the kind Providence of God, that has been a Shield forus, and a Refuge from the Storm.

NO

NO ſooner did King *Henry* VIII. break with the *Pope*, and begin to encourage Hereſy, but after Admonition the Pope (*Paul* III.) Excommunicates, Curſes, Depoſes, Damns him in a Bull publiſh'd at *Rome* in the Year 1535. (or threatned then and executed three Years after.) It will take up too much Room, or I ſhould for the ſake of ſome Readers, have tranſlated it and given it at large: It begins with laying the Foundation of his high and mighty Power in that of the Prophet *Jeremiah*; *Behold I have ſet thee over Nations and Kingdoms to pull up and to deſtroy, to build and to plant*; and then he proceeds to relate the Kings Treſpaſs, and the occaſion he had to Chaſtiſe him, upon which he pronounces a Sentence, ſtrips him of his Crown, frees his Subjects from their Allegiance; commands him to Abrogate the Laws made againſt his Supremacy, and to appear before him at *Rome* within 90 Days, and his Adherents and Favourers; and in caſe they refus'd, he ratifies the Excommunication, deprives him of his Kingdom and Dominions, forbids him or any that adher'd to him to have Chriſtian Burial, if they died without Abſolution; and declares them *eternally damn'd*. After this he goes on to interdict the whole Nation; inhibiting all publick Prayers and divine Offices, deprives the Children of the King, Born or to be Born of Queen *Anne*; and all the Children of his Adherents and their Poſterity of all Rights and Priviledges, and Goods moveable and immoveable, declares 'em depriv'd of all Dignities, Offices, Honours, Rights, Fees, *&c.* and this he does knowingly, and by the *Plenitude* of his Power: Pronounces the King and his Adherents, with their Deſcendants to be Infamous Perſons; diſable to be Witneſſes to make any Will or Teſtament, or to receive any Legacy

The Pope Excommunicates *Hen.* VIII.

Jer. 1, 10.

Legacy by the Teſtament of another, forbids all to have Converſation or Commerce with them on Pain of Excommunication; and commands all Chriſtian Princes no way to favour the King or his Adherents, and nulls all Compacts or Treaties made, or to be made with the King; gives Authority to all Chriſtian Princes to turn their Arms againſt the King and his Adherents, and compel them to return to the Unity of the Church; and whoever acknowledges *Henry* VIII. to be King, or any ways obeys him, and will not Expel him out of the Kingdom, all their Goods, *&c.* are to be ſeiz'd on, poſſeſs'd and kept by any that can get them; and he gives them full Power to enjoy any ſuch plunder'd Goods of the King, or any of his Subjects as in their own Right and Propriety; and whoever take any Inhabitants in *England*, who obey the King and diſobey the Pope, they are to be Slaves to thoſe that take them.

Popes Bull againſt Q. *Elizabeth.*

AND the like Freedom Pope *Pius*, another Servant of the Servants of God, us'd towards Queen *Elizabeth*. He publiſhes his Bull againſt her in the Year 1570. having aſſum'd to himſelf an abſolute Power over the whole Church on Earth, and declar'd himſelf Prince over all People, and all Kingdoms, and Guardian of the Unity of the Church, he thunders out his Curſes againſt Offenders, and amongſt others againſt *Elizabeth*, whom he calls the *pretended* Queen of *England*, and a Slave of Wickedneſs; ſhe having, as he ſays, ſeiz'd on the Kingdom, and monſtrouſly uſurp'd the Place of Supream Head of the Church in all *England*; and having by ſtrong Hand forbid the Exerciſe of the true Religion, which *Mary*, *lawful Queen* of famous Memory had, by the help of this See reſtor'd; having fill'd the Church with *Hereticks*, aboliſhed

ſhed the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and the Catholick Rites and Ceremonies, *&c.* forbid the Prelates and Clergy to acknowledge the Church of *Rome*, and compell'd them to condeſcend to her wicked Laws: She having done all this, and being Incorrigible, *his Holineſs* can no longer bear with her, but pronounceth her depriv'd of her pretended Title, all her Dignities and Privileges whatſoever; abſolves her Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, and forbids them to obey her Laws, upon Penalty of the like Anathema, *&c.*

AND thus the Foundation of Miſchief was laid, and the Way prepar'd for all the Tragedies that afterwards enſued, or were endeavour'd by them. They henceforth look upon us as a People *accurſed*, and have been from Age to Age watching every Opportunity to accompliſh our Ruin; a brief Account of their ſeveral Plots I am now to ſubjoin.

Plots in K. *Henry*'s Reign.

DURING the remainder of King *Henry* VIII's Reign, after he fell out with the Pope (tho' 'tis known the Papiſts were in great Favour with him, his Clergy being chiefly Papiſts, and the Religion profeſs'd here in the main Popery yet) ſeveral ſhow'd themſelves uneaſy on the Account of Innovations; and ſince the Pope had Curs'd the King, and depos'd him, they withdraw their Allegiance and endeavour to execute the Curſe, and accordingly take up Arms againſt him. The firſt Trouble he met with was from the *Lincolnſhire* Men, who got together in a Body, being headed by one Dr. *Mackrel*, Prior of *Barlings* in the ſaid County; but calling himſelf Captain *Coblet*. They repreſent their Grievances to the King by way of Supplication; and among other things take Notice of the Suppreſſion of ſo many Religious Houſes; That his Grace had ill Counſellors,

lors, and Men of mean Birth about him (mentioning *Cromwel* in Particular) that divers Biſhops had ſubverted the Faith, and that they fear'd that the Jewels and Plate of their Pariſh-Churches ſhould be taken from thence, as lately from the Religious Houſes; for Reformation of which they humbly deſire his Gracious Majeſty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to ſee ſuch Orders and Directions concerning the Premiſſes given, as they might accept his Grace to be their Governor and Supream Head of the Church of *England*, &c. But this Diſturbance was ſoon over, the Duke of *Suffolk* being ſent againſt them, they drop their Demands, and diſperſe themſelves.

Ld. *Herbert* in Compt. Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. p. 205.

THE Conſpiracy in *Yorkſhire*, and other Northern Countries, which was this Year (1536.) was more Threatning; "About 40000 were "concern'd in this Inſurrection; that they were "form'd into a Compleat Army; not wanting "a Train of Artillery, they call'd their March, "*The holy and bleſſed Pilgrimage*; and the Pil-"grimage of Grace; on the one ſide of their "Banner was painted, Chriſt hanging on the "Croſs, on the other a Chalice with a Wafer in "it; the Souldiers upon their Sleeves had re-"preſented the five Wounds of Chriſt."

Fowlis's Popiſh Treaſons, p. 316.

MANY riſe at the ſame time in other Places; as *Richmond*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, *Durham*, &c. And ſuch was their Strength, that they not only take upon them to reſtore Monaſteries, but even force the Arch-biſhop of *York* and Lord *Darey* to take their Oath, which was, "That they "ſhould Enter into this Pilgrimage of Grace for "the Love of God, the Preſervation of the "Kings Perſon and Iſſue, &c. to put away all "Fears, and take afore them the Croſs of Chriſt, "his Faith, and the Reſtitution of the Church

"the

" the Suppreſſion of Hereticks and their Opini-
" ons." But this alſo prov'd a vain and weak Attempt, and was eaſily baffled; ſeveral of the Ringleaders of it being Impriſon'd, and ſome Executed.

That which I look upon of greater Conſequence, and that was the moſt threatning of any thing that fell out in this Reign, was the Conſpiracies againſt the Life of *Cranmer*, which had they ſucceeded in, they had nipt the Reformation in the Bud; but God graciouſly preſerved him to be a happy Inſtrument in his own Work; who after a great deal of Service done to the Truth of Chriſt, bore Teſtimony to it at laſt with his Blood.

Plots in K. *Edwards* Reign.

AS the Reformation proſper'd better under King *Edward*, ſo its Enemies were more inrag'd; they loſt more, and thought they had more reaſon to complain. One of the firſt things that provok'd them was, the taking down Images and Crucifixes by the King's Viſitors, and in purſuance of his Injunctions. *Hayward* ſays, as they paſt from Place to Place, many unſavoury Scorns were caſt upon them, and the further they went from *London*, the more the People roſe in Inſolence and Contempt; and that as one of theſe Commiſſioners was pulling down Images in *Cornwal*, he was ſuddenly ſtabb'd by a Prieſt with a Knife. He adds, hereupon the People more regarding Commotions than Commiſſioners; flocked together in divers parts of the Shire, as Clouds cluſter againſt a Storm. And tho' ſome of theſe Rebels ſuffer'd exemplary Puniſhment yet the Miſchief did not ſtop here, but ſpread itſelf into *Wiltſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Herefordſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*. But theſe being neither in Number

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. *p.* 292.

Number nor Courage great, were in a little time appeas'd.

THAT which enſued, the *Devonſhire* Rebellion appear'd more formidable; it would ſeem 'twas begun on the Account of Incloſures. The great Men that had the Poſſeſſion of the Abby-Land, had taken in the waſte Ground in their reſpective Mannors, which the Poor reſent as no ſmall Injury to them, being thereby depriv'd of ſome Privileges they us'd to have. To get themſelves reliev'd they fly to Arms, and preſently increaſe to Ten Thouſand, many of whom made it appear that they look'd further than the Incloſures, and were really more concern'd about their *ancient Abby Religion* than Abby-Lands.

Hiſtory of Reformat. *p.* 75.

ON *Whitſon-Monday*, ſays Dr. *Heylin*, June 10, 1549. being the next Day after the Exerciſing of the publick Liturgy, ſome of the Pariſhioners of *Samford-Courtney* compell'd the Pariſh-Prieſt to let them have Maſs as in former Times; this was ſeconded by others, whereupon they began to drop the Matter of Incloſures, and pretend Religion as the Cauſe of their coming together; and being headed by *Humphrey Arundel*, Eſq; and ſome other Gentlemen, they became conſiderable. They march'd into the Field with a Crucifix under a Canopy, which inſtead of an Altar was ſet on a Cart, accompanied with Croſſes and Candleſticks, Banners, Holy Bread, and Holy Water, to drive away Devils and dull their Enemies Swords, as *Speed* expreſſes it; and now it ſeems they venture to make their Demands of the King; the Particulars of which we have in *Strype*'s Life of *Cranmer*, with *Cranmer*'s Anſwer to them. That the Reader may ſee what a noble Cauſe they had, and for what 'tis ſuch Men have ſo often fill'd the World with Blood and Confuſion, I ſhall tranſcribe moſt

Fowlis, p. 318.

Appen. 88.

of

of them, they conſiſt of 15 Articles; thoſe that concern Religion, are as follows:

1. WE will have all the general Councils, and Holy Decrees of our Forefathers obſerv'd, kept, and perform'd; and whoever ſhall gain-ſay 'em, we hold as Hereticks. The Demands of the Rebels.

2. WE will have the Laws of our Soveraign Lord King *Henry* VIII. concerning the Six Articles, to be uſed again, as in his Time they were.

3. WE will have the Maſs in Latin, as was before; and celebrated by the Prieſt without any Man or Woman Communicating with him.

4. WE will have the Sacrament hang over the high Altar, and there to be Worſhip'd as it us'd to be; and they that will not hereunto conſent, we will have them die like Hereticks againſt the Holy Catholick Faith.

5. WE will have the Sacrament of the Altar but at Eaſter deliver'd to the Lay-People, and then but in one Kind.

6. WE will that our Curates ſhall Miniſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm at all times, as well in the Week-day, as on the Holy-day.

7. WE will have Holy Bread, and Holy Water every Sunday; Palms and Aſhes at the time accuſtom'd; Images to be ſet up again in every Church; and all other antient Ceremonies us'd heretofore by our Mother-holy-Church.

8. WE will not receive the new Service, becauſe 'tis but like a Chriſtmas-Game; but we will have our old Service of Mattins, Maſs, Evening-Song, and Proceſſion in Lent as it was before.

9. WE will have every Preacher in his Sermon, and every Prieſt at the Maſs pray eſpecially by Name for the Souls in Purgatory, as our Forefathers did.

10. WE

10. WE will have the Bible and all Books of Scripture in *Engliſh* to be call'd in again, for we be inform'd that *otherwiſe* the Clergy ſhall *not of long time confound the Hereticks.*

11. We will have Dr. *Moreman* and Dr. *Criſpin*, which hold our Opinions to be ſafely ſent to us; and to them we require the Kings Majeſty to give ſome certain Livings, to preach among us our Catholick Faith.

IN the 12th Article they demand that Cardinal *Pole* be not only pardon'd, but made of the King's Council. In the 13th they require that no Gentleman ſhall have more Servants than for every 100 Mark of Land one. In the 14th Article they inſiſt upon reſtoring Abby-Lands, and Chantry-Lands; and in the laſt Article they demand that the particular Griefs of their Country may be ſo order'd, as *Humphrey Arundel* and *Henry Bray* ſhall inform the King's *Majeſty.*

THESE were the Terms they thought fit to inſiſt upon; by which 'tis eaſy to obſerve there could be no Accommodation with 'em by Treaty, unleſs the whole Reformation muſt be given up to them, for it was for Popery they fought; and therefore Forces are ſent againſt them under the Command of the Lord *Ruſſel*, and more under the Command of the Lord *Gray*: The Rebels had beſieg'd *Exeter*, and reduc'd it to ſome Extremities, for want of Food. On the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1549. the Lord *Ruſſel* routed them and entred the City; which Day was kept afterwards among them as an *Annual Feaſt*, in Gratitude to God for their Deliverance from the Rebels.

THIS was follow'd with another Inſurrection in *Norfolk*. Their Cry was chiefly againſt Incloſures, and therefore marched about Levelling, but being pretty much increas'd, they make their Demands of the King; and among other things com-

complain, that Holy Rites eſtabliſh'd by Antiquity were aboliſh'd, new ones authoriz'd, and a new Form of Religion obtruded to the ſubjecting their Souls to thoſe horrid Pains which no Death could terminate (meaning perhaps, that it threatnedHell inſtead of Purgatory); and therefore 'twas neceſſary for 'em to go in Perſon to the King, to place new Counſellors about him during his Minority; removing thoſe who confounded things Sacred and Profane. But they could not be gratified without too much Expence in all their Demands, and therefore reſolve to ſtand it out; and marching directly to *Norwich* they poſſeſs themſelves of *Mouſhold-Hill*; on the top of which, under a large Oak (ſince call'd *The Oak of the Reformation*) *Ket* their chief Man keeps his Court; but after ſome Skirmiſhes they accept a Pardon, and lay down their Arms; ſome of the Principal of them being put to Death in *Terrorem*; Nine were hang'd on the Tree of Reformation, *Ket* and his Brother were taken to *London*, and after a time ſent down and Executed.

Heylyn, p. 77.

Ibid.

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. p. 299.

OTHER Diſturbances of the like kind happened during the ſhort Reign of this young Prince; but none of 'em carried much Danger either to the Government or the Reformation, they were only the weak Efforts of a Superſtitious Bigotted People, that knew not when they were well, nor would they accept of Deliverance; but were deſperately bent upon continuing the Bonds on themſelves and Poſterity, under which their Forefathers had groan'd for ſo many Ages. One can't, methinks, repreſent their Caſe better than by that of *Micah*, when deprived of his *Teraphim*, his Graven and Molten Image, he cries after the *Danites* in the utmoſt Diſtreſs; *They have taken away my Gods, ſays he,*

Jud. 18, 23.

he, that I made, and what have I more. So fond were these poor Creatures of their Idolatrous Trash, as to look upon themselves undone when they wanted it; and therefore thought it a good Cause to venture their Lives in (*viz.*) the destroying the Reformation, and the retrieving the many Blessings of Popery, the Comforts of Holy-Water, of Mass, Purgatory, *&c.*

I shall only take notice that these Methods not succeeding, they go to work another way, and imploy their Emissaries (as they have often done since) to promote Divisions among the Reformers; to which purpose two are dispatch'd into *England* from *Rotterdam*, who were to preach against Baptizing Infants, and for Rebaptizing, and a fifth Monarchy on Earth. 'Tis said a Letter was sent to two Bishops, whereof *Winchester* was one; the Letter was from *Delf*, *May* 1549. to signify the coming of these Agents, and desired they might be assisted in this Cause. This Letter *Sir Henry Sidney* met with in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Closet, among some Papers of Queen *Mary*'s, and transcribed into his Book called *the Romists Polices*; so that finding Force would not do, they make use of Fraud, which has ever been their Expedient in time of Need; but God disappointed them in all, and hitherto strengthned what he had Wrought.

Strypes Memorial of *Cranmer*, 208.

NO Body need be inform'd that the next Reign (Queen *Mary*'s) totally overthrew the Reformation; he that would relate the Transactions of it, must write a Book of Martyrs; their Work now was not so much to Plot against Protestants, as to destroy them with Authority, having Law and the Government on their Side.

† Q. *Mary*'s cruel Zeal to destroy the Reformat. and the Reformers.

†QUEEN *Mary* began her Government with a Shew of Mildness, and with many fair Pretences; but if these were agreeable to her Inclination, Nature was overcome by Principle, and born

born down by the horrid Maxims of that Religion ſhe had imbib'd; of which her falſe and perfidious Treatment of the *Suffolk-Men*, who had expreſs'd ſo much Zeal for her Advancement, is a flagrant Inſtance, and may ſerve as a Caution to others, how they truſt the moſt plauſible Promiſes, and Engagements of Popiſh Princes; who are taught that 'tis no Violation of their Honour to deceive Hereticks: She had, it ſeems, given them Aſſurance that ſhe would never make any Alteration of Religion, as it was in her Brothers Time, but would be content with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion; upon which they reſolv'd to venture their Eſtates and Lives in her Service; but this was ſoon forgot; and 'tis ſaid that when they afterwards pleaded her Majeſties Promiſe, ſhe anſwer'd (tauntingly) *they ſhould have the Honour of being the firſt Martyrs*; which was all the Requital their Zeal got.

BEING placed upon the Throne, ſhe reſolves to reſtore Popery, and loſes no time, but proceeds in the Service of her Cauſe, with all the Zeal her Religion inſpir'd; the Proteſtant Biſhops and other Divines are Silenc'd, upon an Order, that none ſhould Preach without a Licence, and the Popiſh Doctors reſtor'd. The Laws of King *Henry* VIII. from the 20th of his Reign, made againſt *Rome* are repeal'd; as were all thoſe of King *Edward* that concern'd the Reforming Religion. In the ſecond Seſſions of her firſt Parliament which began *October* 24, 1553. a Bill paſs'd in Favour of the Old Popiſh Religion; wherein Nine Acts made in the former Reigns about Religion were repeal'd at a Clap. The Convocation this Year, is open'd with Tranſports: *Harpsfield*, Biſhop *Bonner*'s Chaplain, preaches and extols the Queen to the Skies, and in Concluſion applies the words in the

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. *p.* 388.

Virgin *Mary*'s Magnificat to the Queen, ſhe being ſays he, moſt gloriouſly magnified in our Eyes, might ſing with her, *Behold*! *from henceforth all Generations ſhall call me bleſſed.*

THE next Year (*Anno* 1554.) the Nation is *ſolemnly* and publickly reconcil'd to *Rome*; the Parliament having petition'd for it, and the Pope having ſent over Cardinal *Pool* to receive their Submiſſion, and tranſact the Affair. *Pool* upon his Arrival made a ſmooth Speech before both Houſes, the King and Queen preſent, in which he tells them, "That ſince by the late Schiſm "they had become Exiles from the Unity of "the Church and the Kingdom of Heaven, he "would by Authority of Chriſt's Vicar bring "them back to the Fold, and ſo reſtore them "to their heavenly Inheritance;" and therefore he exhorted them ingeniouſly to acknowledge and deteſt the Errors of the late Times, *&c.* upon which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* preſented a Petition to the Legate, to Abſolve the Clergy and Laity from the Crime of *Hereſie*. The Legate receives the Petition, and pronounces an Abſolution, all the Eſtates Kneeling; and thus Peace was made with the Pope; and the Queen to ſhew her ſelf worthy of his Favours, and an Obedient Daughter, ſets her ſelf utterly to extirpate *Hereſy*; and not only deſtroys the Superſtructure of her Brother, but raſes the Foundation her Father laid; revives the moſt cruel Laws againſt Hereticks, which ſhe executes with the Zeal and Fury of a Popiſh Bigot, caſting all into the Fiery-furnace that would not Worſhip the Image that ſhe had ſet up. But God remember'd Mercy, heard the Cry of his diſtreſs'd People, puts an End to their Sufferings, and to the Encroachments of their Enemies, by the Death of that bloody Queen, after ſhe had Reign'd

Ibid, p 548

Reign'd five Years, four Months, and eleven Days.

IT was before obſerv'd, that as Queen *Mary* undid what her Father and Brother had done, ſo her Siſter *Elizabeth* reſtor'd it, only the one makes quick Diſpatch, ruining in a Year the Preparations of Twenty: The other proceeds more leiſurely, hewing Popery down by degrees, or ſtealing it away rather by Piece-meal, and not taking it up by the Roots all at once; however, what ſhe did was ſo Offenſive to the Zealots of that Party, that they take all imaginable Methods to be reveng'd on her, and to retrieve, if poſſible, their ſinking Cauſe.

Plots in Q. *Elizabeth's* Reign.

POPE *Pius* IV. being lately advanc'd to the Papal Chair, begins to Attempt the reducing of Queen *Elizabeth*, to the Obedience of his See; to which purpoſe, he tries what fair means will do, and writes a Cajoling Letter to her, which he ſent by *Parpalia*, Abbot of *St. Saviours*, *Anno* 1560. We have it at large in *Cambden*, *Fuller*, *&c.* the Subſtance of which is as follows:

Popes Letter to Qu. *Elizabeth.*

" Our moſt beloved Daughter in Chriſt, Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction; how earneſtly we deſire (as by our Paſtoral Duty bound) to take effectual Care of your Salvation, and to provide for your Honour, and the Eſtabliſhment of your Kingdom, both God the Searcher of Hearts knows, and you may learn your ſelf from the Inſtructions we have given to our beloved Son *Parpalia*: We do therefore, moſt dear Daughter, exhort your Highneſs again and again, that you wou'd lay by theſe ill Counſellors, who love themſelves better than your Intereſt; and that you would proceed in the Fear of God, and acknowledge the Time of your Viſitation, and yield Obedience to our paternal Admonitions;

" by doing which, you may promiſe your ſelf " every thing at our Hand that you can deſire, " not only towards the Happineſs of your Soul, " but the Eſtabliſhment alſo of your Royal Dig- " nity, according to the Authority entruſted " with us by God; who if you Return to the " Boſom of the Church, are ready to receive you " with the ſame Affection the Parent in the " Goſpel receiv'd the Prodigal upon his Return; " tho' our Satisfaction *will be greater*, ſince he " rejoiced in the Salvation of one Child only, " you as virtually containing all the People of " *England*, will give us Occaſion to Congratu- " late the Converſion of a whole Nation: " Nay, you will fill Heaven with Joy, and by " ſo Memorable an Action perpetuate your " Name, and purchaſe a much richer Diadem " than what you now wear." And 'tis ſaid that the Abbot was inſtructed to aſſure her Majeſty, That he would diſanul the Proteſt againſt her Mothers Marriage as unjuſt, *ſettle the* Engliſh *Liturgy by his Authority*; and grant the Uſe of the Sacraments to the *Engliſh* under both Kinds, in Caſe ſhe would reconcile her ſelf to the *Romiſh* Communion, and Bow to the Supremacy of his Chair; and that ſeveral Thouſand Crowns were promiſed to thoſe that ſhould effect this: But the Queen, as *Cambden* expreſſes it, ſtill conſiſted with her Motto *ſemper eadem*; nor would ſhe ſuffer *Parpalia* to Enter *England*.

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. *p.* 384.

HOWEVER, buſie Heads are ſtill at work; the next Year the Pope ſends another Nuncio, the Abbot *Martinego*; and tho' he's refus'd Admittance into the Land, yet the very Noiſe of his Coming, gave Occaſion to ſome *Romaniſts* to ſpread Reports of the Queen's Converſion: And the Pope's Nuncio then in *Ireland*, it ſeems was ſo forward, as to deprive her Majeſty by his

1561.

his pretended Authority, of all Title to that Kingdom, and not only ſo, but to joyn with the Rebels againſt her. *Fowlis.* Pop. Trea. 329.

WHAT Conſpiracies, and horrid attempts were made againſt her Life, by this deſperate Faction, during the greateſt part of her Reign, is related by all our Hiſtorians, and is too large to be brought into theſe Papers: I'll give the Reader however a brief Epitomy, moſtly from *Fowlis*. He tells us, that Pope *Pius* V. was ſtrongly bent, not only to get Queen *Elizabeth* depos'd, but murder'd; and having loaded her with the moſt reproachful and baſe Names; he employs his Emiſſaries againſt her, particularly *Roberto Rodolpho*, a *Florentine* Gentleman, who was ſent to reſide in *England*, under the pretence of Merchandizing, and to ſtir up the People againſt the Queen; and in caſe he ſucceeded, the Pope deals with the *French*, and *Spaniard*, and *Portugal*, to yield their Aſſiſtance; the laſt of which ſends the Marqueſs of *Cetona*, under colour of an Embaſſy, to countenance the Rebellion, and to Command the Forces with which the Duke of *Alva* was to Invade the Kingdom. In the mean time, *Rodolpho* minds his buſineſs; executing his Commiſſion with great diligence; and having form'd a Plot againſt the Queen, endeavour'd to make *Tho. Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, head thereof; promiſing him in Marriage, *Mary*, the unfortunate Queen of the *Scots*, now ſecured in *England*; and at laſt they over-perſwaded the good meaning Duke to engage further than was * fitting for a Subject, being drawn thereto by ſome falſe Friends: And into the ſame deſign went *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, *Charles Nevil*, Earl of *Weſtmorland*, with ſeveral others of Quality; who at laſt perceiving the Queen had diſcover'd their

Several Aſſaſſins employ'd againſt Queen *Elizabeth*.

1568.

* As appears from his Confeſſion at his execution mention'd by *Cambden*.

Fowlis Ibid. 331. their Plot, ſubmitted and begg'd pardon. Nor, adds my Author, was the *Pope* himſelf idle, but ſo zealous for this Rebellion, that he aſſur'd the *Spaniards*, if need be, that he wou'd go himſelf in Perſon to aſſiſt them.

BUT whereas things went ſlowly on, the better to encourage the Work, and animate the Workman, the *Pope* is perſwaded by *Harding*, *Stappleton*, *Morton*, and others, to publiſh the Sentence of Excommunication and Depoſition mention'd before; upon which, the Papiſts look'd upon Queen *Elizabeth* as the *Barbarians* did on St. *Paul*, when the Viper was faſtned to his hand, *expecting that he ſhou'd have ſwollen and have fallen down dead*; but as he ſhook off the venemous Beaſt into the Fire, without hurt to himſelf, ſo the Queen ſtands under this heavy Curſe, and ſtaggers not, deſpiſing the Inſults of the proud Pontiff, warding off the Blows of his Janizaries; however, this effect it had, it ſtirred up all the *Ravilliacks* of the Party, and let looſe a Company of *Ruffians* like ſo many Bull-Dogs to worry her.

HIS Bull, it ſeems, was firſt made known in *England* by Dr. *Nicholas Morton*, whom the *Pope* ſent to declare in his Name, that the Queen was an Heretick; and ſo had no Right to Rule; and that ſhe ought to be look'd upon no otherwiſe than an Infidel Pagan: Accordingly *Morton* coming into *England*, ſhews the Papal Curſe, and ſets forward a Rebellion; but the boldeſt Step was that of *Felton*, who ſtuck up the *Pope*'s Bull on the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace-Gate in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard; and ſo reſolute was he in his Cauſe, that he refuſes to withdraw for his Safety; and when he was ſeiz'd and impriſon'd, owns and vindicates the Fact, calls the Queen the *pretended* Queen, affirming he had done her

May 25. 1750.

no

no wrong; ſhe having nothing to do in the Throne, *being depriv'd by the Pope*; but Juſtice overtook him, he ſuffers as a Traitor; tho' *Parſons* calls him a *Glorious Martyr*; others call him the valiant Soldier, and brave Champion of Jeſus Chriſt.

ENDLESS were their Plots hereupon againſt her Crown and Life. *Fowlis* mentions a Treatiſe of Schiſm, written by *Gregory Martin*, and publiſh'd in the Year 1584. which, among other things, exhorted the Women at Court to act the ſame againſt the *Queen* as *Judith* had done, with Commendations againſt *Holofernes*; which ſeveral in different ways attempted to do, (I mean to Murder her) tho' without ſucceſs. The Treaſons of *Parry*, *Babington*, *Savage*, *Loper*, *Squire*, *York*, &c. are too many to be here related. *Lopez*, a *Jew*, and Phyſician, was hir'd to poyſon the Queen, and had, as an earneſt penny, a rich Jewel ſent him, and was promiſed for the performance 50 thouſand Ducats; and, in the ſame Year, *Edmund York*, and *Richard Williams*, were hir'd to the ſame Work; *York* at his Trial confeſs'd, that *Holt* the Jeſuit, *Hugh Owen*, &c. had offer'd him an Aſſignment of 40000 Ducats, if he wou'd kill the Queen himſelf, or aſſiſt *Richard Williams* in doing it; and that *Holt* kiſſing the Holy Hoſt, ſwore that the Money ſhou'd be paid ſo ſoon as the Queen was kill'd; and bound *York* and *Williams* by an Oath, and the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, to diſpatch it. Many more were employ'd in the ſame Service; *Cambden* takes notice of at leaſt half a ſcore Aſſaſſins, beſides thoſe we have mention'd.

Page 338.

1594.

Annals of *Eliz.* 1594

BUT all theſe Endeavours failing, they reſolve at laſt upon a Home-ſtroke, which was utterly to deſtroy the Queen, and her Heretical Subjects, by a foreign Power; to which purpoſe, the

the King of *Spain* invades the Land with what they call'd the *Invincible Armada*, the *Pope* having given him theſe Kingdoms, and earneſtly exhorted him to the Enterprize, and ſent an Admonition to the People of *England*, to join with him againſt their Soveraign.

VAST were the Preparations they made; having an hundred and thirty Ships, with all ſorts of Ammunition; a ſufficient Number of Soldiers and Mariners, and above a hundred Noblemen of *Spain* that came Voluntiers; expecting, no queſtion, their ſhare of the Spoil: The Prince of *Parma* alſo, in the *Netherlands*, built a vaſt Number of flat-bottom'd Boats with a large ſupply of Ships. The *Pope* having bleſt the Undertaking, ſent abroad his *Croiſado*, offering full Pardon of Sin to every one that contributed any aſſiſtance, promiſing for himſelf a Million of Gold, provided that the Crown of *England* ſhou'd be held *as Feudatory to the See of* Rome: And, for his better Encouragement, he beſtows on the King of *Spain* the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, with Apoſtolical Benediction.

ON the 20th of *July*, about Noon, this *Terrible Armament* came within ſight of the *Engliſh* Coaſt, their Ships appear'd as ſo many Caſtles, in front like a half Moon; the Horns whereof ſtretched forth in breadth about ſeven Miles, the Ocean, as it were, groaning under them.

HOW this famous *Armada* (that they fooliſhly call'd *Invincible*) was conquer'd, is known. I ſhall only take notice, that there was ſo much of Providence, our Enemies themſelves being Judges in it, that the *Spaniſh* Admiral, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, blaſphemouſly ſwore, that he fear'd *Jeſus Chriſt was turn'd Lutheran*: Nay, the King of *Spain* himſelf hearing of this ſtrange

defeat

defeat of his Fleet, saw so evidently the Finger of God in this disappointment, that he's reported to have said, *He did not send his Fleet to fight against God, but against Men.*

AND these were some of the Designs carried on against the Nation; its Religion, Laws, Liberties and Enjoyments in this Reign; but all were defeated thro' the good hand of our God upon us. The *Pope* like *Balaam* had often attempted to bring *England* under his Curse, but the Curse causeless did not come: Their Measures were happily broken, and none of their Weapons form'd against us prospered; *Hitherto the Lord helped us.*

Plots against K. *James* the I. to exclude him, then to destroy him.

BEING thus disappointed in Queen *Elizabeth*, and in their Enterprizes against her Life and Government, they cast an Eye to her Successor King *James*, whom they first Endeavour to exclude, and then to destroy. *Fowlis* gives a pretty full History of their Conspiracies and Practices to this purpose. We have several particulars Collected in a late Pamplet, from which I shall Transcribe a few Things.

Memorial for 5th of *November*, Printed, 1713.

HIS Mother *Mary Queen of the Scots*, was a Bigotted *Papist*, as is well known; and it seems in the height of her Zeal, was resolv'd to set aside her Son's Title, if he prov'd a *Heretick*. An Abbot of their own, *Ruggerius Tritonius*, in his Life of *Cardinal Laureus*, acknowledges, that *Mary* the Queen of *Scots*, the Day before she Suffer'd Death, did under her own hand declare, that her Son *James*, shou'd not inherit *England*, if he remain'd a Protestant; but that the Right of the Kingdom, shou'd be Translated to *Philip of Spain*; and it seems this very Thing, was charg'd upon her at her Trial, *viz.* That she promised to give her Right of *England*, to the King of *Spain*, if her Son *James* wou'd not be of

p. 5.

p. 6.

the

the *Romiſh* Perſwaſion, which ſhe ſignified in a Letter to *Mendoza*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

BUT not truſting to this, they go to work another way, and endeavour to prove him *Illegitimate*, a Mock-King, denying him to be the Son of *Queen Mary*; next they attempt to draw him in to join with *Spain* againſt *Queen Elizabeth*, under pretence of revenging his Mothers Death; but this Project failing, about the beginning of the Year, 1583. (as the *Papiſts* themſelves tell us) the Biſhop of *Dumblain* was ſent to him, (*King James*) by *Pope Sixtus* 6th, to make him an offer of a Marriage with the *Infanta of Spain*, on condition of becoming a Catholick, and taking part againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; and when they cou'd not ſucceed in this, the Prieſts abroad, ſays my Author, invented another Stratagem, to raiſe a jealouſie in Queen *Elizabeth*, that the King of *Scotland* was tampering with the *Spaniards* at the ſame time, he profeſt his utmoſt Averſion to them: Then they inſinuate that he was a *Papiſt*, or inclin'd to their Religion, which they did to prejudice him with the Queen.

p. 8.

p. 10.

A Popiſh *Pretender* ſet up.

BUT finding none of theſe Contrivances wou'd take, they Reſolve to ſet up a Popiſh Pretender; and whereas the King of *Spain* at that time, bid faireſt for an Univerſal Monarchy, they have recourſe to his Family: And Father *Parſons* undertakes to prove, that the Title of the Crown of *England* did of Right, belong to his Daughter the *Infanta*, *even of Hereditary Right Divine and Indefeaſible*, fetching it from a long and Lineal Deſcent, upon an Old Marriage between *Spain* and *England*; and thereby making Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf an Uſurper, as were her Succeſſors. To ſerve this purpoſe, the ſaid Father *Parſons* wrote his *Dolemem* or Conference about

about the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*; the Chief deſign of which was to exclude the *Scots* Title, and ſet up the *Spaniſh Infanta*. p. 14.

BUT *Parſons* not truſting to the ſtrength of his Arguments, and to the Title of Birth-Right; thought fit to take another Method, and therefore propos'd at *Rome*, that the Catholick Princes ſhould by Mutual Counſel and Conſort, chuſe out and appoint a Succeſſor to the Crown of *England*, and to this purpoſe dealt with *Cardinal D'Offat*, that the *Pope*, the King of *France*, and the King of *Spain*, ſhou'd agree among themſelves in a Succeſſor for *England*, that ſhou'd be a Catholick, and that they ſhou'd joyn their Forces to ſettle ſuch a one upon the Throne of *England*, ſtill meaning *the Infanta*, contriving an Alliance and Confederacy to bring her in; and it ſeems ſome brisk Reſolutions were taken hereupon, as appears from a Letter wrote to Sir *Robert Sydney*, *Nov.* 9, 1595. " I briefly advertiſe you, " ſays his Correſpondent, of Things aſſuredly " Confirm'd. The *King of Spain* having pro- " vided great Treaſure, Ships and Arms, hath " declar'd that either he will alter the Religion " and preſent Government of *England*, or beſtow " all that he hath in the World; that *England* is " moſt aſſuredly to be Invaded, and the Chief " Inſtruments of the preſent Government to " be quite extinguiſhed, as Enemies to the " Faith; that there ſhall be ſuch a King put " up in *England*, *if the Queen will not be* " *Catholick*, as the Realm ſhall chuſe being a " Catholick; which ſhall be in League with the p. 16. " *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, and all ſuch Catholick " Princes as joyn to extirpate *Hereſie*, and " plant Catholick Faith; that the King of *Scots* " muſt either be a Catholick, or loſe his Title " to any Kingdom". I'll only add here, that whilſt

whilſt theſe plain hearted, upright Men, the *Jeſuits*, were labouring in every Court of *Europe*, where they had acceſs in ſuch like Projects as theſe, they did for a Blind gravely make a Decree, *that none of them ſhou'd meddle with State-Affairs.*

Q. *Elizabeth* and her Miniſtry, endeavour to fix King *James*, in the Proteſtant Intereſt.

IN the mean time the Queen and her Wiſe Miniſtry, endeavour to fix *King James* in the Proteſtant Intereſt; repreſenting to him that there was no other way to ſecure his Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, and that the Nobility and Gentry had Honour and Spirit too great, to ſubmit to the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*; and this, 'tis like, was a principal Argument to keep him Tite to that Intereſt, which he declares himſelf Reſolv'd to adhere to, by Inſtructions ſent to *Hamilton*, in the Year, 1600. " In my " Name, ſays he, aſſure all honeſt Men in the " Princely Word of a Chriſtian King, that as I " have ever without ſwerving maintain'd the " ſame Religion within my Kingdom, ſo aſſoon " as it ſhall pleaſe God, lawfully to poſſeſs me " with the Crown of that Kingdom, I ſhall " not only maintain the Profeſſion of the " Goſpel there, but withal not ſuffer any o- " ther Religion to be profeſs'd, and avow'd " within the Bounds of that Kingdom.

Clement, 8.

UPON this, apprehending little hopes of the King of *Scotland*, theſe buſie Sticklers prevail with the Pope to put in a Bar to his Succeſſion; to which purpoſe he ſends over to *Garnet*, provincial of the Jeſuits in *England*, two Bulls of his Apoſtolical Authority; one directed to the Clergy, the other to the Nobility and reſt of the Laity: the matter of both was the ſame, *viz.* to enjoyn them by Virtue of their Obedience, that when ever it ſhould happen *Miſeram illam fœminam*, that miſerable Woman

Woman, as he call'd the Queen, ſhould depart this Life, they ſhould admit none to aſcend her Throne, how near ſoever in Blood, (thereby pointing directly to the King of *Scotland*) unleſs ſuch as ſhould not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but to their utmoſt promote it; and who according to the Example of their Anceſtors, would Swear to do ſo. *pag.* 24.

QUEEN *Elizabeth* dying *March* 24, 1603. the Faction diſpatch'd a Meſſenger into *Spain* to give Advertiſements thereof, and to continue the former Negotiations with that Court, ſetting forth that the Condition of the Catholicks wou'd be harder under the New King than it had been under Queen *Elizabeth*; and therefore they preſs *Winter* to continue his Sollicitations for Help, *&c.* But it ſeems King *Philip* began to *pag.* 31. cool of the Matter, and return'd in Anſwer, that he could no longer attend to their Petitions, for that he had ſent Embaſſadors into *England* to treat of Peace with the New King, which was concluded and ratify'd ſoon after. *Ibid.*

AND now being repuls'd in every Attack, and deſerted by their beſt Friends, they reſolve to have one Puſh more for it: The Conſpirators, ſays *Thuanus*, fly to their laſt and deſperate Counſels; and in the firſt place they make it their Buſineſs to ſatisfie their Conſciences, and that being done, they confirm their Reſolutions to attempt ſome great Enterprize (which was the *Powder Plot*).

SEVERAL Debates were held about this; in *September* 1603, there was a Meeting of the prin- Powder cipal Actors in it; in which *Catesby* began with Plot. a grievous Complaint of the Kings Proceedings; for that contrary to their Expectations, his Majeſty did both hold, and was like continually to run the ſame Courſe which the Queen before had held:

held: *Piercy* in great Heat replys, that there was no Way left but to kill the King: No, *Tom*, ſays *Catesby*, thou ſhalt not adventure thy ſelf to ſo ſmall a Purpoſe; if thou wilt be a Traitor, there
p. 40. is a Plot to greater Advantage, and ſuch a one as can never be diſcover'd; adding that the killing the King would not ſufficiently ſerve the Catholick Cauſe, while the Prince and Duke of *York* were left alive: Nay, if both theſe were deſtroy'd, the Nobility, Judges, Knights, *&c.* would be remaining, who would always ſtand in their Way, and croſs their Purpoſes; that therefore he had bethought himſelf of a better and more ſafe way, which was at one time and at one blow to cut off all their Enemies: This, he ſaid, was by blowing up the Parliament Houſe with Gun Powder; when the King and his States were there aſſembled.

HOW they began, and how far they proceeded in this helliſh Deſign, is a thing pretty well known, and needs not here be related. I ſhall only obſerve that when the full Deſign was open'd it appear'd ſo ſhocking, even to the Conſciences of thoſe Men, that ſome of them were ſtartled at it, and thought meet to ask the Opinion of their Ghoſtly Fathers, and be inform'd of the lawfulneſs of the Fact: To which purpoſe they conſulted *Garnet* and others, who commended the Enterprize, aſſuring them they might go on with *a good Conſcience*, and perform the Deed; ſeeing they were *Hereticks*, and Perſons *ipſo jure Excommunicated*, againſt whom they were ſet; but when this Difficulty was got over, it ſeems another ſtuck with them, and that is whether it be Lawful to deſtroy the Righteous
p. 42. with the Wicked, for in ſo general a Blow, ſome Catholicks were like to be involv'd in the common Deſtruction. To this *Garnet* anſwers, That

if

if the Advantage was greater to the Catholick part by taking away ſome Innocents, together with many Nocents, that doubtleſs it ſhould be lawful to Kill and Deſtroy them all; as we muſt not forbear the ſtorming of a Fort, tho' ſome Friends be in it, who with the Enemy may be Slain.

THE way being thus clear'd they go forward, an Oath of Secrecy and Perſeverance being requir'd of every one, which was in theſe Terms; "You ſhall Swear by the bleſſed Trinity, and "by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to Receive, "never to diſcloſe directly or indirectly by "Word or Circumſtance, the Matter that ſhall "be propos'd to you to keep Secret; nor deſiſt "from the Execution thereof, until the reſt "ſhall give you leave." This done, they went into a more private Chamber, heard Maſs, receiv'd the Sacrament from *Jerard*, prepare themſelves with all diligence for the Enterprize, procure a Cellar under the Parliament Houſe, which they ſtore with 36 Barrels of Powder cover'd with Billets, Faggots, Stones and Iron Bars; to which a Train of Powder was laid, that was to be fir'd *November* the 5th, the Day when the Parliament was to meet.

THE Diſcovery of this by a Letter to the Lord *Monteagle* I paſs by as known; who wrote the Letter is a Secret: I muſt own, I can't but ſuſpect the Hand of the King was in it, not that he * contriv'd the Plot, which is moſt abſur'd

* The Papiſts at that time could not tell how to deny the Fact, but excuſed it as well as they could, by calling it an Attempt *of a few* unfortunate Gentlemen: It ſeems it had been under Conſultation for a conſiderable while among them. *Del-Rio* in a Treatiſe printed 1600. puts a Caſe, in the Suppoſition of Auricular Confeſſion, as if, *ſays* Dr. *Kennet*, (*Sermon* Nov. 5, 1715.) he had already lookt into the Mine and Cellars, and had ſurveyed the Barrels of Powder in them, and had heard the whole Confeſſion of *Faux* and *Catesby*: The Caſe he puts was this, Whe-

to ſuppoſe, ſince ſo many were hang'd for it, confeſſing the Fact, and were applauded as Saints and Martyrs amongſt their Brethren; but the King might make uſe of this Contrivance the better to conceal the Notice of the Conſpiracy he might have from *Henry* IV. of *France*. In the Duke of *Sully*'s Memoirs, there is more than once mention of ſome *ſudden Blow* they intended in *England* about that time; and in one Letter King *James* is deſir'd to take Warning from the Fate of *Henry* III. and it ſeems in an Harangue pronoune'd at *Rome* in Praiſe of *Ravilliack* the Aſſaſſin of *Henry* IV. 'tis there ſaid that he (*Henry* IV.) was not only an inveterate Enemy to the Catholick Religion in his Heart, but

ther if a Confederate diſcover in Confeſſion, that he or ſome elſe have placed Gunpowder, under ſuch or ſuch a Houſe; and unleſs it be removed the Houſe will be blown up, *the Prince* deſtroyed, and as many as are in or going out of the City will ſuſtain great Miſchief, *&c.* Whether the Prieſt ought to reveal it? He anſwers in the *Negative*, and ſupports his Opinion by a Bull of *Pope Clement* VIII. againſt violating the Seal of Confeſſion. This being publiſhed, ſo *near England*, as *Lovain*, and *ſo near the Time*, when the Train was laying, ſhows it *was then* in their Thoughts; to uſe the words of *Biſhop Burnet*, who alſo relates this Paſſage: *Pope Paul* is ſuppoſed not only to know of this Deſign, but to prepare a Jubilee for it, by an expreſs Bull dated at *Rome*, 1605. entitled, *Indictio Jubilei ad divinam Opem Implorandam pro præſentibus neceſſitatibus*: And one Reaſon for Timeing the Year 1605. for the Year of Jubilee was, *Impios Hereticorum Errores undique evellere*——But methinks it might put this Matter out of all doubt, that ſome of the Conſpirators owned and even gloried in the Undertaking. *Dr. Tillotſon* ſays of *Sir Everard Digby*, (whoſe Original Papers and Letters were then in the Doctors Hands) that after he was in Priſon, and knew he muſt ſuffer, *he calls it the beſt Cauſe*, and was extreamly troubled to hear it cenſured by Catholicks and Prieſts as a great Sin, contrary to his expectation: Let me tell you, ſays he, what a Grief it is, to hear that ſo much condemn'd, which I did believe would have been otherwiſe thought of by Catholicks. He concludes this Letter thus; With how full Joy ſhould I dye, if I could do any thing *for the Cauſe*, which I love more than my Life. As to the Point of involving thoſe of his own Religion in the ſame Deſtruction, he ſays, he could (Dr. *Tillot.* Serm. *Nov.* 5, 1678.) have offer'd ſomething to mitigate the Odium of that, but adds he does not think there would have been *three worth the ſaying*, that would have been loſt.

had

had obſtructed the Glorious Enterprizes of thoſe that would have reſtor'd it in *England*, and occaſioned them to to be crown'd with Martyrdom (referring no Queſtion to the Execution of theſe Traitors).

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. *p.* 675.

THE Nation having eſcap'd this Stroke which aim'd at all Root and Branch, it was no more aſſaulted in that violent manner during the Reign of King *James*, and yet was often expos'd, and the Cauſe of the Reformation not a little endanger'd by the unaccountable Conduct of that Prince, whom ſome by a Figure, I ſuppoſe, call'd the *Solomon of the Age*. It will be neceſſary to conſider his Management in a few Inſtances, and I ſhall begin with his *Popiſh Alliance*, which he ſo induſtriouſly ſought, and which indeed laid the Foundation of the greateſt part of our Miſeries ever ſince.

K. *James* himſelf a Plotter, betraying the Religion and Liberties of his Country.

This may appear.

HE firſt treats about a Match with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, for his Son Prince *Charles*; to which purpoſe, he ſends over the Earl of *Briſtol*, and afterwards *Buckingham* to Negotiate the Matter, and with him the Prince himſelf; a Piece of Conduct that ſurpriz'd every Body, and that none but King *James* could have been capable of. This Treaty, was a mighty reviving to the Catholick Cauſe, ſtrangely embolden'd the Popiſh Recuſants, and encreas'd their Number, as was complain'd of in a Petition and Remonſtrance of the Commons to the King, *Anno* 1621.

K. *James* treats with *Spain* about a Match for Prince *Charles*.

Ruſhworths Collection, Vol. I. *p.* 40.

WHILST the *Prince* was in *Spain*, all imaginable Endeavours were uſed to pervert him in Religion, and perſwade him to turn Catholick, ſuggeſting how acceptable this would make him to the *Infanta*; and when the Danger of it was objected by the Prince and his Miniſters, that the Nation (*England*) would not bear it, they promiſe to aſſiſt him with an Army againſt ſuch

Rebellious People: And to forward the Matter, the Pope himſelf writes a ſmooth Letter to him, wherein he puts him in Mind of his renown'd Anceſtors, and their Zeal for Holy Church; exhorts him to an Emulation, and particulary takes notice of his Journey into *Spain* to the Catholick King, with Deſign to ally himſelf to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which he commends; and is willing to conclude from thence that the antient Seeds of Chriſtian Piety, which ſo happily flouriſh'd in the Hearts of the Kings of *Great Britain*, may *revive again* in his Soul; adding, that 'tis not to be believ'd, that he who lov'd ſuch an Alliance ſhould hate the Catholick Religion; and therefore that he commanded continual Prayers to be made for his Converſion, that he might defend the Authority of the Soveraign High-Prieſt, and fight againſt the Monſters of Hereſie; telling him the Arms of the Church ſtand open to receive him, and that they beſeech, with unſpeakable Sighs and Groans, the God of all Mercy for his Salvation; and that for the Comfort of the Chriſtian World, he might put the Prince of the Apoſtles in Poſſeſſion of his moſt Noble Iſland; and that he and his Royal Father might be ſtil'd the Deliverers and Reſtorers of the antient paternal Religion of *Great Britain*, (Dated from the Palace of St. *Peter*, the 20th of *April*, 1623.)

Wilſon in the Compleat Hiſt. of *England*.

THE Prince returns the Civility of this Letter in one to the Pope in the following Strain, " *Moſt Holy Father*, I receiv'd the Diſ-" patch from your *Holineſs*, with that Reſpect " which the Piety, with which your Holineſs " writes, does require. I do believe that your " Holineſs hath ſet the Examples of the Kings " my Predeceſſors before my Eyes, that I might " imitate them; for in Truth they have often " ex-

Ibid, p. 767. The Prince's, afterwards K. *Charles* I. Letter to the Pope.

" expos'd their Eſtates and Lives for the exalta-
" tion of the *Holy Chair*: And the Courage with
" which they have aſſaulted the Enemies of the
" Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, hath not been leſs than
" the Care and Thought which I have. He
adds a little after, " And I do not eſteem
" it a greater Honour to be deſcended from ſo
" great Princes, than to imitate them in the
" Zeal of their Piety; in which it helps me
" very much to have known the Mind and
" Will of our *thrice honour'd Lord and Father*,
" and the Holy Intentions of his Catholick
" Majeſty, to give a Happy Concurrence to ſo
" laudable a Deſign, (the Uniting Chriſtian
" Princes) for it grieves him extreamly to ſee
" the Evils that grow from their Diviſions, which
" the Wiſdom of your Holineſs foreſaw, when
" it judg'd the Marriage which you pleas'd to
" deſign between the *Infanta* of *Spain* and my
" ſelf, neceſſary to procure *ſo great a Good*;
" for 'tis very certain, I ſhall never be ſo ex-
" treamly Affectionate to any thing in the
" World, as to endeavour an Alliance with the
" Prince *that hath the ſame Apprehenſion of the*
" *true Religion with my ſelf*. Therefore I entreat
" your Holineſs to believe that I have always
" been far from encouraging Novelties, or to be
" a Partizan of any Faction againſt the Catho-
" lick, Apoſtolick, *Roman* Religion; and that
" I will Employ myſelf for the Time to come
" to have *but one Religion*, and one Faith; ha- 1623.
" ving reſolv'd with my ſelf to ſpare nothing *June* 20.
" I have in the World, neither Eſtate nor Life,
" for a thing ſo pleaſing unto God, *&c.*" *

* *Ruſhworth* has publiſhed this Letter (*p* 82.) from a Copy that varies from this in ſome Expreſſions; and ſome have queſtioned the Genuineſs of the Letter it ſelf; but this I ſuppoſe muſt be out of Tenderneſs to the Memory of the Writer: Nor can I think it ſtrange, conſidering the Humour the Prince and his Father were then in, (*Ibid* 486.) and the Cauſe they had depending; he ſhould Addreſs the Pope in this Stile.

Spaniſh Match. THE Pope after many Delays grants a Diſpenſation, and the Marriage is at laſt agreed to between *Prince Charles and the Infanta*, upon ſundry Articles; particularly that it ſhould be made by Diſpenſation from the Pope; that it be celebrated in *Spain*, according to the Inſtructions of the Council of *Trent*; and afterwards in *England*, in ſuch a manner as may make the Marriage Valid according to the Law of the Land; ſo be, that no Ceremony nor other thing intervene which ſhall be contrary to the *Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion*; that the Children of this Marriage be not conſtrain'd in Matter of Religion, nor their Titles prejudic'd in Caſe they prove Catholicks; that the *Infanta's* Family may be Catholicks, and have a † Place appropriated for all Divine Service according to the Uſe of the Church of *Rome*, and the Eccleſiaſtick and Religious Perſons may wear their proper Habits; that ſhe ſhall have a competent Number of Chaplains (twenty four Prieſts and Aſſiſtants) and a Confeſſor being Strangers; one whereof ſhall have Power to govern the Family in Religious Matters, that it may be lawful for the *Lady Infanta* and her Servants to procure from *Rome* Diſpenſations, Indulgencies, Jubilees, and all ſuch Graces as ſhall ſeem fit to their Religion, *&c.* That the Laws which are or ſhall be in *England* againſt Religion, ſhall not take hold of the ſaid Servants; and if any Secular Judge ſhall apprehend any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon for any Offence, he ſhall forthwith cauſe him to be deliver'd to the Superior Eccleſiaſtick, who ſhall proceed againſt him according to the Canon-

† *Wilſon*, ſays the Pope, extended this Article thus, *Habeat etiam Eccleſiam publicam Londini*, That ſhe ſhould have a publick Church in *London*.

Law.

Law. That the Sons and Daughters which ſhall be Born of this Marriage ſhall be brought up in the Company of the moſt Excellent *Infanta*, at leaſt until the Age of ten Years. Theſe, and ſuch like, were the Articles of that Marriage, which both the *King* and the *Prince* Swore to; as they did afterwards to four private Articles, *viz.*

Terms of the match in favour of the Papiſts.

1. THAT particular Laws made againſt the *Roman* Catholicks ſhall not at any time hereafter directly or indirectly, be commanded to be put in Execution.

2. THAT no other Laws ſhall hereafter be made anew againſt the ſaid Roman Catholicks; but that there ſhould be a perpetual Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion within private Houſes throughout *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

3. THAT neither by us or any other, directly or indirectly, privately or publickly, will we attempt any thing with the moſt renown'd *Lady Infanta*, which ſhall be repugnant to the Roman Catholick Religion.

4. THAT *we* and the Prince of *Wales* will interpoſe our Authority, and will do as much as in us lies, that the Parliament ſhall approve and ratify all, and ſingular Articles in favour of the Roman Catholicks, capitulated by the moſt renown'd Kings, by reaſon of this Marriage; and that the ſaid Parliament ſhall revoke and abrogate particular Laws made againſt the ſaid Roman Catholicks; and that hereafter we will not conſent that the ſaid Parliament ſhall ever enact *any new Laws* againſt Roman Catholicks.

AND thus this incautious Prince laid the Foundation of the greateſt Miſchiefs both to his Family and to his Subjects, for which he was ſeverely cenſur'd both at Home and Abroad *Ibid*, *p.* 89

History of *England*, p. 947.

" The People of *England* (ſays *Eachard*) equally " hating the *Spaniards* and the Popiſh Religion, " were irreconcileably averſe to the Marriage, " and would have bought it off at the deareſt " Rate; and as far as they durſt, oppos'd it by " Speeches, Councels, Wiſhes and Prayers; but " if any ſpoke louder than the reſt, he was " Silenc'd or Check'd; when as in *Spain* and in " *Flanders*, Books and Pictures were publiſh'd " to expoſe both King and State; for which the " *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in vain ſought for Satis- " faction."

AR BISHOP *Abbot* with great Faithfulneſs remonſtrates againſt the King's Meaſures, in a Letter to himſelf, in which he tells him, he had been too long Silent, and had neglected the Duty of his Place, and now begs leave to diſcharge his Conſcience to God, and his Duty to his Majeſty: he tells him he labour'd to ſet up the moſt Damnable Heretical Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; and how hateful, ſays he, will it be to God, and how grievous to his good Subjects; that his Majeſty who hath ſo often diſputed, and learnedly written againſt theſe wicked Hereſies, ſhould now ſhew himſelf a Patron of them: He further tells him that he had ſent his Son into *Spain* without the Conſent of his Council, the Privity and Approbation of his People; an Action dangerous to himſelf and deſperate to his Kingdom: Beſides, this Toleration could not be done without a Parliament, by his Declaration alone; unleſs his Majeſty would let his People ſee, that he would take a Liberty to throw down the Laws of the Land at Pleaſure: And having beſeech'd his Majeſty to conſider the dreadful Conſequences of theſe things, he concludes: Thus in diſcharge of my Duty towards God and your Majeſty, I have taken humble

Ar Biſhop *Abbot* with great faithfulneſs oppoſes the match.

humble Boldneſs to deliver my Conſcience, *and now Sir, do with me what you pleaſe.*

BUT this was without Effect. " His Deſires " were ſo heightned to the Heats of *Spain*, ſays " *Wilſon*, that he would liſten to nothing, and " almoſt yield to any thing rather than not en- " joy his own Humour; divers of his intimate " Council, affecting Popery urg'd him to a To- " leration, inſinuating that Catholicks were the " King's *beſt* Subjects, the Puritans being the " greateſt Diſturbers of the Royal Peace, in- " trenching too boldly upon the Prerogative; " and why ſhould not the Catholicks (ſay they) " be permitted in *England*, as well as the Pro- " teſtants are in *France*? That their Religion *was* " *full of Love and Charity*, when they could " enjoy it with Freedom, *&c.*" And though enough was anſwer'd to theſe Pretences, the King was ſo intent upon his great Point (the *Spaniſh Alliance*) that he ſtops his Ears, and reſolves to go forward: And thus, ſays *Wilſon*, did our *Solomon* in his latter Time ('tho 'twas ſaid of him, he had fought with the *Beaſts at Epheſus*) incline a little too much to the *Beaſt at Rome.*

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. *p.* 768.

THE Conſequences of this Treaty were ſuch as ſufficiently rebuked the Folly that appear'd in it; it fill'd the Nation with Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits; brought over the Titular Biſhop of *Calcedon* to exerciſe Epiſcopal Juriſdiction over the Catholicks of this Kingdom. It loſt King *James* the Love of his Subjects, and expos'd him to the Contempt of his Enemies; to this he not only ſacrificed his own Honour, but the Life of that excellent Perſon Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: Nay, to this he ſacrificed the Palatinate and the Intereſt of his Family there. *Wellwood* from *Spanheim* tells us, that when ſeveral Princes were for entring

Memoirs p. 22.

tring into a League for Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and the *Houſe of Auſtria* was beginning to doubt the Succeſs, *Gondomer* play'd his Engine to break their Meaſures, by propoſing a Match with the *Infanta* of *Spain* for the Prince of *Wales*, as the eaſieſt and ſureſt way to reſtore the *Palatine Family*, which like all the reſt was only to amuſe King *James*, and was equally unſucceſsful. He adds, it was too long to give the Detail of King *James*'s Conduct in this Affair, which was all of a Piece; the Author ſums up the Ills that attended it in this, "That thereby the Proteſtant Religion was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*, the Electoral Dignity transfer'd from the *Palatine* Family; the *Palatinate* it ſelf loſt; the Liberty of *Germany* overthrown; and, which he mentions with a ſenſible Regret; the famous Library of *Heidelburgh* was carried to *Rome*, to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning; ſo that *Gondomer* had good Reaſon to ſay in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, that he had lull'd King *James* ſo faſt aſleep, that he hop'd neither the Cries of his Daughter nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects in their behalf ſhould be able to awaken him."

BUT notwithſtanding all the Zeal *the King and the Prince* ſhow'd in this Matter, and the ſtrange Conceſſions made with reference to Religion, againſt the Remonſtrances of the Parliament and Complaints of the People, the whole miſcarried and came to nothing; ſo that the King was ſtill to ſeek for a Wife for his Son, and the Lady *Henrietta Maria* of *France* being propos'd by *Buckingham* (who was Dictator to the King, and in his Council at that time); the King eagerly purſues it, and forthwith ſends the Lord *Kenſington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, to feel the

French match.

the Pulſe of the *French* King; who, after he had continued at that Court a Month, began to ſpeak of the great Affair he came about; which as ſoon as it was propos'd to Monſieur, it appear'd ſo acceptable to him, that he told the Earl he had rather have the Prince of *England* to be his Brother than any other Man in the World, " And was ſo ready to comply, that he ſeem'd " indifferent in making Terms for the Catho- " licks in *England*: But when he found King " *James*, who dreaded a ſeconded Diſappoint- " ment, to be immeaſurably fond of this Alli- " ance, he abated of his Forwardneſs, enlarg'd " his Demands in Favour of Papiſts, and ſtrain- " ed the King to ſuch Conceſſions as he had " promiſed to his Parliament he would never " grant upon the Mediation of Foreign Prin- " ces. *Eachard's* Hiſtory of *England*, *p.* 974.

" The famous *Cardinal Richlieu* was the Prin- " cipal Manager of this Affair, in behalf of " *France*, and the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle* " in behalf of *England*: Theſe repreſented to " the Cardinal, that the Propoſition they made " of a Marriage being no new thing, ſince it " had been treated of many Years before to " Marry the Prince of *Wales* with Madam *Chri-* " *ſtiana*, who was afterwards married to the " Prince of *Piedmont*: They had nothing now " to do, but to reſume the Articles already " made, and to continue on the ſame Foot with " the Lady *Henrietta*, but the *French* anſwer'd " that the Face of Affairs was chang'd ſince that " time, and that they had different Thoughts " at preſent: That 'twas the King of *England's* " Intereſt to preſerve the Reputation of the " *French* King in this Marriage; That at pre- " ſent, they could not be contented with what " they had formerly offer'd about Religion,

" after

" after what had happen'd in *Spain*, when there " was a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince " of *Wales* and the *Infanta*; urging that 'twas " neceſſary to begin the Negotiation, by laying " thoſe Articles upon the Table, which the " King of *Great Britain* had agreed with *Spain* " upon that Occaſion."

THE *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, it ſeems, objected againſt their Demands; but the *French* perſiſt in them, repreſenting it would do great Service to the King of *England*, by uniting to his Party all the *Engliſh* Catholicks, who would oppoſe themſelves to the *Puritans and Presbyterians*; by whom the King was not truly beloved: And upon theſe and ſuch like Reaſons the *Engliſh* comply'd. *Eachard* ſays, the Embaſſadors, would not conſent to grant the publick Church to the Papiſts, as had been ſtipulated in the Treaty with *Spain*; alledging it would endanger a Mutiny in *London*. Tho' *Coke* affirms that the Cardinal would not abate one Jot of the Articles of Religion and Liberty to the Popiſh Recuſants, which was agreed upon in *Spain*; Nay, he rais'd them higher, urging it was but fit that his Maſter, who was Eldeſt Son of the Church, ſhould not abate any thing of what was granted to the Catholick King.

Detection of the Court of *England*, Vol. I. *p.* 191.

THE Marriage was at laſt concluded upon, and the Articles ſign'd by King *James*, *May* 11, 1625. and beſides the general, three private Articles were agreed to in favour of the Papiſts, *viz.* that the Catholicks, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, impriſon'd ſince the laſt Proclamation, which follow'd the Breach with *Spain*, ſhould all be ſet at Liberty: That the *Engliſh* Catholicks ſhould no more be ſearch'd after, nor moleſted for their Religion: That the Goods of the Catholicks, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Tempo-

Ruſhworths Hiſtory Collect. Vol. I. *p.* 169.

ral,

tal, that were ſeiz'd on ſince the forementioned Proclamation ſhould be reſtor'd to them: Indeed *Nalſon* queſtions the Truth of theſe Articles; but the *French* Author of Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Life, in effect declares as much as *Ruſhworth*; namely, that the *King and Prince* took an Oath to releaſe all the Catholick Priſoners as ſoon as the Marriage was conſummated; to prohibit for the future their ill Treatment, for their Religion; and further, that they both gave a Promiſe in Writing not to oblige the Princeſs to change her Religion. The Wiſdom and Religion of this Treaty has been ſufficiently known and felt in *England* ſince that time, and needs no Comment. The *French* Author mention'd before ſays, "It was againſt all the Maxims of "good Policy; it drew upon his Son King "*Charles*, thoſe Miſchiefs which perhaps never "befel any King ſucceeding to an Hereditary "Crown. He adds, his Sons Born of that "Marriage, and ſeduc'd by their Mother's Perſwaſions, have been moſt unfortunate ſince "his Death; and ſeveral were of Opinion that "Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was then contriving "a War againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent this "*Princeſs* into *England* as a Ball of Diſſention, "that would create ſo much Trouble in the "Nation as would incapacitate them from diſturbing their Neighbours Affairs." It was indeed the Source and Spring-head of all our Miſeries; nor can I think it any Raſhneſs to ſay, this Old and Experienc'd King (as he uſed often to ſtile himſelf) did by this ſingle Act more to overturn the Reformation, and ruin his Country, than ever he did by all the Actions of his Life to ſupport either.

Eachard, p. 997.

AS a natural Conſequence of this New Alliance, great Favour is ſhown to the Papiſts; while

while the Match formerly with *Spain* was depending, the Priſons were open'd to Popiſh Recuſants; Prieſts and Jeſuits walk about at Noon-Day, (and we may be ſure as much would be expected now): *Gondomer* Vaunts that his Interceſſion had releas'd four Thouſand: Nay, the King, the better to convince his dear Allies of his readineſs to comply with them in theſe things, requires the *Lord Keeper* to paſs Writs under the Broad Seal, enjoining the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge *the Recuſants*, that were Priſoners for any Church-Recuſancy whatſoever, or refuſing the Oath of Supremacy, or diſpoſing Popiſh Books, or Hearing or Saying of Maſs, or any other Point of Recuſancy, which doth concern Religion only: And tho' this was what he did, and what he ſolemnly ſtipulated to do, yet upon Occaſion we find him denying every Tittle of it. Thus in his Speech to his Fourth Parliament, 1624. being blam'd for encouraging a Toleration to Papiſts, he declar'd, *as God ſhould judge him*, he never thought, nor never in Words expreſs'd any thing that ſavour'd of it; only ſometimes, for ſpecial Reaſons, he did not ſo fully put the Laws in Execution againſt them; and upon the Parliament's petitioning, that the Laws might be put in Execution againſt Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts, and other Orders of the Church of *Rome*; This Religious King proteſted before God, "That his "Heart had bled when he heard of the Increaſe "of Popery, and that the Grief of it had been "as Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Side; "and he ſolemnly promiſes them that upon no "future Occaſion of Marriage, or Treaty, he "would hearken to the Interceſſion of other "Princes to the Toleration of Catholicks; which how true 'tis, with reſpect to what was paſt, or what was to come, every one may judge: But

Ruſhworth, p. 116, 143

'tis

'tis known this King had Latitude of Conſcience enough to ſay any thing, and had learnt the Art of diſſembling to ſuch Perfection, that he ſeem'd to make it his chief Qualification for Government; he would affirm or deny, proteſt and appeal to Heaven, when there was not one Word of Truth in what he ſaid.

King *James* ſuſpected to incline to Popery.

NOR did he only Connive at the Papiſts from Reaſons of State; but ſome have ſuſpected his *Indifferency* in Matters of Religion, and that he really had no very great Averſion to his *Mothers Faith*, had it been his Intereſt to have profeſs'd it. We have under his Name a very obliging Letter wrote from *Scotland* to Pope *Clement* VIII. wherein he recommended to his Holineſs the Biſhop of *Vaiſon*, for a Cardinals Hat: Queen *Elizabeth* being inform'd of it, expoſtulateth with him about it. The honeſt King after his Manner, deny'd the Knowledge of any ſuch Letter, with the ſolemneſt Oaths, ſignifying his Abhorrence of correſponding with the *Pope*, or giving him the Title of *Holineſs*; and the whole was charg'd on *Bellmerino*: Yet afterwards he made no Scruple to do both theſe in the Buſineſs of the *Spaniſh* Match; and even when he came to *England*, in his firſt Speech to his Parliament, his Moderation carried him ſo far, as to call the Church of *Rome a True Church*, and our *Mother-Church*; adding, "If they would "leave ſuch new and groſs Corruptions of theirs "as themſelves can't maintain; he would for "his part be contented to meet them in the "mid-way, ſo that all Novelties might be re-"nounc'd on either Side."

BUT the greateſt Step that ever he took was his Concern with the *Arch-Biſhop of Embrun*, if we may believe the Account *Eachard* has publiſh'd of the Matter. He tells us, "That whilſt "the Treaty was depending about the *French* "Match,

Hiſtory of *England*, f. 975.

" Match, the ſaid *Arch-Biſhop* was ſent over
" in favour of the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*,
" and to ſound King *James* about his Thoughts
" of the *Romiſh* Religion: He comes Incognito;
" but being diſcover'd by the *Duke of Buckingham*,
" was told that there was no occaſion for him
" to Change his Name, or conceal his Quality;
" for he ſhou'd Receive nothing but Honour,
" eſpecially from the King his Maſter, who
" had a very particular Eſteem for him: Soon
" after he introduc'd him to the King, who re-
" ceiv'd him ſo very Graciouſly, as immediately
" to Releaſe the *Roman* Catholicks out of Priſon,
" at his Motion, and to permit him to Admini-
" ſter Confirmation to what Catholicks he
" pleas'd, in the Houſe of the *French* Ambaſſa-
" dor, whilſt the Doors were open: Accordingly
" he Confirm'd about 10000 in the preſence of
" a great Concourſe of People at the Door, and
" in the Street, at which many were offended
" and Complain'd, but were anſwer'd by *the*
" *King*, that he did nothing contrary to his
" Pleaſure: The *Arch-Biſhop* had ſeveral Con-
" ferences with the King; in which his Majeſty
" teſtified his great deſire to be allied to *France*;
" and the other inſiſted upon a Toleration, as
" the moſt effectual means to give Satisfaction
" to the Catholick Princes; whereupon the
" King laying his hand upon the Biſhops hand,
" ſaid, *I plainly ſee that you are a Perſon appointed*
" *by God, in which I ought to confide, and reveal*
" *the Secrets of my Heart.*

"AFTERWARDS he very freely acknowledged
" to the *Arch-Biſhop*, the good Opinion he had
" conceiv'd of the Catholick Faith; proteſting
" to him that during his Minority, his Tutors
" having perceiv'd his Inclination to that Re-
" ligion; he ran great hazards of being aſſaſſina-

" ted

" ted; as to a Toleration, he profeſs'd he had
" long deſign'd to grant it in his Dominions,
" and for that very purpoſe, he intended to
" Summon an Aſſembly of Prelates, and other
" Learned Men of *England*, together with an
" equal Number of Foreigners, and upon the
" Deciſions there made to found the ſaid Liber-
" ty; adding that he had already Determin'd,
" what Perſons ſhou'd be choſen among the
" Engliſh; and that if the Aſſembly cou'd not
" meet at *Dover*, he wou'd Conſent that it ſhou'd
" be holden at *Bolloign*; aſſoon as he ſhou'd be
" in a Condition to rely upon the King of
" *France*, by means of the intended Marriage:
" And to procure theſe good Effects, he thought
" convenient that after the Conſummation of it,
" the *Arch-Biſhop* ſhou'd Return into *England*,
" under a pretence of accompanying the *Prin-*
" *ceſs*; at which time he wou'd deliver to him
" Two Letters Written with his own hand,
" one for the *French King*, another for the *Pope*,
" containing his *ſerious Reſolutions*: He wou'd
" alſo give him a diſtinct Memorial, concerning
" his Intention, which he wou'd Sign, that the
" *Arch-Biſhop* being furniſh'd with theſe Diſ-
" patches he ſhou'd go to *Rome*, under Colour
" of Viſiting the Apoſtolick See; there to
" Treat with the *Pope* alone, for whom he
" ſaid he had *a great Reſpect and Affection*, ever
" ſince he underſtood he had compos'd Verſes in
" his Youth, of the Violent Death of the
" Queen of *Scotland*, his Mother, in Commenda-
" tion of her, and of the *Family of the Stewarts*;
" which he ſhew'd to the *Arch-Biſhop*. He
" further declar'd, that in Caſe the *Arch-Biſhop*
" return'd from *Rome*, with the Approbation of
" his *Holineſs*, concerning the Convention, he
" wou'd cauſe it forthwith to be Aſſem-

" bled; whereupon extraordinary and admirable " Events wou'd enſue: But before he proceeded " to diſcover his Deſign, as to his own Perſon, " he wou'd negotiate with the Proteſtant Prin- " ces of *Germany*, and with the Principal " Puritan Lords of *England* and *Scotland*, and " promiſe that all things ſhou'd tend to a hap- " py Concluſion; *and to the great Advantage of* " *the Catholick Church*". This ſays the Arch-Biſhop is the ſubſtance of all the Diſcourſes, they had at ſeveral times upon this Subject.

Monſieur D'Ageat, further tells us, " That " being ſatisfy'd as to all the Points in Contro- " verſy, the King wrote a long Letter to the " *Pope* by a Catholick Gentleman, his Subject; " whom he privately ſent to him on purpoſe; " in which he acknowledg'd him, as *Vicar Ge-* " *neral* of *Jeſus Chriſt on Earth*, as the Univerſal " Father of the Chriſtians; and the Chief of all " Catholicks; aſſuring him, that after he had " taken care of thoſe things, to which he had " agreed, he wou'd *openly declare himſelf*. In " the mean time, he promis'd not to ſuffer " any ſearch to be made in his Kingdom after " Prieſts, that were ſent by his Holineſs or the " moſt Chriſtian King; provided they were not " *Jeſuits*, in whom he proteſted he cou'd not " confide, for ſeveral Reaſons; principally be- " cauſe he accounted them the Authors of the " *Gun-Powder Treaſon*: In his Letter, among " other things, he Intreated the *Pope* to vouch- " ſafe, that the Goods of the Church that were " entred into the Patrimony of the Principal " Families in *England*, ſhould not be taken from " them; but that they ſhou'd be permitted ſtill " to enjoy them; becauſe otherwiſe great " Troubles and Commotions wou'd enſue: He " affirm'd moreover, that nothing ſhou'd hinder

" him

" him from making a *publick Profeſſion* of the " Catholick Religion, at this time; but the " deſire he had to gain the *King of Denmark*, " his Brother-in-Law, whom he had for that " End, tho' under another pretence, ſolicited " to come over into *England*, that by doing " this, he ſhou'd be able to Eſtabliſh Peace in his " own Dominions; which otherwiſe cou'd hardly " be maintain'd. The Duke of *Buckingham* " and the Gentleman he ſent to *Rome*, were " the only two Subjects, to whom he commu- " nicated theſe Intentions. The *Duke* had " promiſed to follow him; and had made a con- " ſiderable progreſs in the Affair; but all theſe " Remarkable Deſigns, were made void by the " Death of the King of *England*, not long after; " at which the *French* King declaring the News " to the *Arch-Biſhop of Embrun*, expreſt a very " ſenſible Regret, in theſe Words; *All our hopes* " *of* England *are loſt*". Thus far, ſays *Eachard*, the two *French* Authors; and ſo leaves the Credit of the Narrative, to the Judgment of the Reader.

WHETHER K. *James* ſpoke all this or not; or if he ſpoke it, whether it was only a Copy of his Countenance, pretended purely to ſerve a preſent Turn, is what I ſhan't preſume to determine. But this I think is certain, let his real Principles be as they will, (*and God has judg'd him*) his Conduct in theſe matters, gave that Blow to the Proteſtant Intereſt *Britain*, that it has never fully Recover'd to this Day.

King *James* ſets up Arbitrary Power.

BUT this was not the only Inſtance, in which he Invaded or Betray'd the Liberties, and Indanger'd the Religion of his Kingdom, I may juſtly add to it, as pretty much of the ſame Nature and Tendency, *his Graſping at Arbitrary Power*; an Inclination to which he diſcover'd,

thro' the whole of his Reign. It has been obſerv'd, and not without good Reaſon, that tho' he made himſelf mean and contemptible to all the World abroad, he affected to Swagger over his Parliaments and People at Home; which he did in a manner that was far from making, or ſhowing him great. With how much overbearing Majeſty, did he Treat his Parliament, upon occaſion of the Remonſtrance they prepared touching the *Spaniſh* Match. The King hearing of it, before it was preſented, inſtantly diſpatches a Letter to Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, to forbid them to ſend it; in which he complains, "That "ſome fiery and popular Spirits had been em- "boldened to debate publickly, of matters *far* "*above their Reach*, and Capacity; tending to "our high diſhonour, and breach of Prerogative "Royal: Adding, theſe are therefore to com- "mand you to make known in our Name, unto "the Houſe, that none therein, ſhall preſume "henceforth to meddle with any thing concer- "ning our Government, or deep Matters of "State, and namely not to deal with our Deareſt "Sons Match, with the Daughter of *Spain*, "nor to Touch the Honour of that King; nor "any other of our Confederates, and alſo not "to meddle with any Mans particulars, which "have their due Motion in our ordinary Courts "of Juſtice; and you ſhall Reſolve them in "*our Name*, that we think our ſelves able to "puniſh any Mans Miſdemeanours, in Parlia- "ment as well during their Sitting, as after, "which we mean not to ſpare hereafter, upon "any occaſion of any Mans Inſolent Behaviour "there.

And when the Commons had ſent a Humble Supplication, and Petition in anſwer to this Threatning

Threatning Meſſage from his Majeſty; wherein they make the utmoſt Submiſſion (tho' at the ſame time, plead for the Antient Liberty of Parliaments, and Liberty of Speech, as their undoubted Right, and an Inheritance Receiv'd from their Anceſtors) the King anſwers them with ſome ſeverity of Style, and puts them in Mind (*ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*) that the Cobler muſt not go beyond his Laſt, telling them they had meddled with things above their Sphere; and whereas they had mention'd their Antient and undoubted Right of Inheritance, he tells them, he cou'd have wiſh'd they had rather ſaid, *that their Privileges were deriv'd from the Grace and Permiſſion of his Anceſtors and himſelf*; Implying that the " very Being and all the Rights " of Parliament, were precarious, and depended " upon the meer Favour of the Prince.

NOR were there wanting ſome to hold the Kings Stirrup, whilſt he was mounting, he found among the Clergy a ſet of Men after his own Heart, that fell in with his Arbitrary Humour: To which purpoſe ſerv'd the Twenty Five Articles exhibited by *Bancroft*, and others in the Name of all the Clergy in *England*; call'd *Articuli Cleri*, the Articles of the Clergy; here, ſays *Coke*, they aſcrib'd an Abſolute Power to the King, and ſtruck directly at the Conſtitution of Parliament; and ſome Years after, *Bancroft* repeated his Articles (they having been before objected againſt by the Judges) and another of the party (Dr. *Cowel*) Publiſh'd a Book which he called his *Interpreter*, wherein he maintains theſe Three Principles, 1*ſt*, That the King was *ſolutus à Legibus*, not bound by his Coronation-Oath. 2*ly*, That it was not from any Neceſſity, that the King ſhou'd call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do it by his Abſolute Pow'r. 3*dly*, It was

Bancroft & the inferior Clergy, own the Kings abſolute Power. Detection, Vol. I. *p.* 46.

a favour to admit the Consent of the Subjects in giving Subsidies. *Cowel's Interpreter*, was not only Printed, says my Author, but publickly Sold without Impunity; and this gave Encouragement for the Publishing many others to the same purpose, among which *Blackwood* Publish'd one, which concluded *that we are all Slaves by Reason of the Conquest.*

Ibid 50.

NOR did he only talk for Absolute Power, but he was for exercising it: He was too much a Philosopher, not to know, *Quod frustra datur potentia quæ non producitur in actum*; and therefore having fallen out with his Parliaments, and finding he cou'd not get his ends answer'd by them, he resolves to supply himself by his Prerogative; to which purpose he commands the Privy Council to Issue out an Order, for Raising Money, for the Defence of the Palatinate; and also Letters to the Justices of the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, and Barons of the *Exchequer*, to move them and perswade others to a Liberal Contribution, according to their Qualities and Abilities: Nevertheless if any Person shall thro' Obstinacy or Disaffection refuse to contribute thereto proportionably to their Estates and Means, they are to Certify their Names to the Council-Board.

K. *James* Raises Money, by his Prerogative.

LETTERS to the same Effect, were directed to the High Sheriffs of Counties, and Justices of Peace, and to the Mayors and Bailiffs of every City and Corporation within the Kingdom, Requiring them to Summon all before them of known Abilities, within their Jurisdictions, and to move them to a Chearful Contribution according to their Fortunes; and to return Schedules of the Names of such as shall Contribute, and their Sums; that his Majesty may take notice of his Friends, and (to be sure) set a mark on others.

AND

AND these were the Steps this *Pacifick King* took to subvert the Constitution, and enslave his People; and tho' its true, he met with some that had a better Sense of Liberty, than tamely to yield up all to his Ambition, to whom Posterity is not a little indebted; yet he did all he well cou'd for subduing them; and I cannot but think 'tis to him we owe a great part of what we have Suffer'd, or been in danger of with reference to our Religion and Liberties, ever since.

THE Maxims and Measures of the next Government (that of *King Charles Ist*,) were very much of a piece with the former, and borrow'd from thence. The Match with the Daughter of *France*, so near concluded by the Father, was consummated by his Son, the first Year of his Reign, and that upon the Plan *King James* had laid down, and which was mention'd before. 'Tis a just Reflection that we have in Dr. *Kennet*, speaking of a great Plague that was this Year, which, says he, some reflecting on, in the latter end of *King Charles* his Reign, have look'd upon as a very *Inauspicious Omen*; but others have thought that this Reign, began with a *greater Judgment* in the Kings Marriage with *Popery*, and *France*, two Evils with which the Interest of this Church and State cou'd bear no Alliance: He adds, considering the malignity of *Popish* Religion, the Imperiousness of *French* Government, the Influence of a stately Queen, upon an Affectionate Husband, and the share she must have in the Education of her Children, 'twas easy to foresee that this unequal Match, might prove very fatal to our *English* Prince and People, and lay in a vengeance to future Generations, which alas! the Nation found true by woful experience.

Compleat History of *England*, Vol. III. *p.* 14.

K. *Charles*'s Match with *France*, consumated.

K. *Charles* treads his Fathers Steps.

THE *King* no ſooner enters upon his Government, but he preſently ſhow'd he inherited more from his Father than his Crown, which appear'd particularly in the little Confidence he had in his Parliaments, and his Manner of treating them, his precipitate diſſolving of them, &c. wherein he ſeem'd induſtriouſly to Copy after his Father's Example, and tread in his Steps; tho' 'tis ſaid King *James* ſaw his Miſtake herein before he died, and caution'd his Son not to ſplit upon the ſame Rock.

K. *Charles* diſſolves his Firſt Parliamnt.

HE diſſolves his firſt Parliament the firſt Year of his Reign. It ſeems they began with a Complaint of Grievances which wanted Redreſs; and particulary ſtruck at *Buckingham*, whom they look'd upon as an Enemy to the Nation, and Author of the moſt dangerous Counſels; and whereas the King had taken a *Papiſt* into his Boſom, (whoſe Influence they fear'd); they now had a more Jealous Eye than ever upon the Papiſts, and Petition that the Laws may be executed againſt them: And when their Grievances were redreſs'd in theſe and ſuch like Particulars, they ſhould be ready to grant his Majeſty any thing: The King on the other Hand inſiſts upon a preſent Supply, aſſuring them that afterwards he would be at leiſure to hearken to any of their Complaints; and 'tis eaſie to obſerve that 'twas upon this Point very much that they differ'd all along; the Parliament would grant no Supply till their Grievances were firſt conſider'd. The King would ſay nothing to Grievances without a Supply, and ſo neither Side durſt truſt the other. Dr. *Kennet* having recited a Declaration of this FirſtParliament, full of Affection to hisMajeſty, obſerves, 'That if hisMajeſty would have "ſeem'd to have been pleas'd with it, and would "have commanded *Buckingham* to have made his "Peace

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. *p.* 10.

" Peace with the Commons, and would have " promis'd a Redreſs of Civil Grievances as " graciouſly as he anſwer'd the Complaints " about Religion, and ſo have comply'd with " the Genius of the Nation; he might have " made himſelf Safe at Home, and very Conſi- " derable Abroad: But it happen'd, that he " thought the Duke a neceſſary Inſtrument, by " no means to be laid aſide; and that nothing " elſe ought to interrupt an immediate Supply, " and therefore Diſſolves them; which ſays the " ſame Author, left a deep Impreſſion of Diſ- " content upon the Minds of the People, and " created a Diffidence and Jealouſie between the " King and ſucceeding Parliaments."

Auguſt 12. 1625.

THE Second Parliament, which was call'd the ſame Year, was ſoon Diſſolv'd; and that upon the like Reaſons with the former. It was of the worſt Conſequence, that the King in his Reply to an Anſwer of the Commons (which Dr. *Kennet* ſays, ſeem'd to be very reſpectful and ſincere,) ſhould ſo roundly tell them that he will not allow any of his Servants to be queſtion'd among them; and that if they did not haſten a Supply, it ſhould be worſe for them. This inflamed them to a great degree, and occaſion'd loud Complaints of Grievances, which they reſolve to repreſent in a Petition to his Majeſty; but while they are preparing it, the King by Commiſſion diſſolves them, notwithſtanding a Petition from the Houſe of Lords againſt it.

Ibid. p. 16.

K. *Charles* falls out with Parliaments.

NOR was this the worſt of it, he not only falls out with his Parliaments, but endeavours to make them unneceſſary; and therefore like his Father attempts unhappily to raiſe Money without them. My Lord *Clarendon* ſays, " There " was in this Second Parliament an Intention of " granting five Subſidies; and that the Meeting being

Hiſtory of Civil Wars Vol. I. *p.* 5. 8vo.

" being upon very unpopular and unplauſible " Reaſons, immediately diſſolv'd; thoſe five " Subſidies were exacted throughout the whole " Kingdom, with the ſame Rigour, as if an Act " had paſs'd for that Purpoſe. Divers Gentlemen " of prime Quality in ſeveral Counties of *Eng-* " *land* were for refuſing to pay the ſame, com- " mitted to Priſon with great Rigour and extra- " ordinary Circumſtances." Several of theſe petition'd and gave Reaſons for their Refuſals, of which we have a particular Account in *Ruſh-worth.*

Part I. p. 429.

WHAT part ſome of the *Clergy* took at that time, to encourage theſe illegal Proceedings, ſo much to the Diſhonour of the King, Grief of the Subject, and Danger of the Government, is well known and may be ſeen at large in *Ruſh-worth.* Dr. *Welwood* gives this ſhort Account of the Matter: " Among other Means, ſays he, of " raiſing Money, that of *Loan* was fallen upon, " which met with great Difficulties, and was " generally taken to be Illegal; one *Sibthorp*, an " obſcure Perſon, in a Sermon preach'd at the " Aſſizes at *Northampton*, would make his Court " by aſſerting, not only the Lawfulneſs of this " Way of impoſing Money by *Loan*, but that " 'twas the indiſpenſible Duty of the Subject to " comply with it. At the ſame time Dr. *Man-* " *waring* another Divine, preach'd two Sermons " before the King at *White-Hall*, in which he " advanc'd theſe Doctrines, *viz.* That the King " is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Realm " concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties, " but that his Royal Word and Command in " impoſing *Loans* and Taxes without conſent " of Parliament, *Does oblige the Subject's Conſcience* " *upon Pain of eternal Damnation:* That thoſe who " refus'd to pay this *Loan* did offend againſt " the

p. 422.

Sibthorp and *Manwaring* advocates for Arbitrary Power.

" the Law of God, and became guilty of Impi-
" ety, Diſloyalty and Rebellion; and that the
" Authority of Parliaments is not neceſſary for
" raiſing of Aids and Subſidies. Every Body
" knew *Abbot* was averſe to ſuch Doctrines, and
" to ſeek an Advantage againſt him, *Sibthorp*'s
" Sermon with a Dedication to the King, was
" ſent him by Order of his Majeſty to Licence.
" *Abbot* refus'd, and gave his Reaſons in Wri-
" ting, which Biſhop *Laud* anſwer'd, and with
" his own Hand Licens'd both *Sibthorp*'s and
" *Manwaring*'s Sermons; upon this *Arch-Biſhop*
" *Abbot* was confin'd to his Country-Houſe, and
" ſuſpended from his Function; the Admini-
" ſtration of which was committed to Biſhop
" *Laud*, and ſome others of his Recommenda-
" tion.

AFTER the King had parted with his Second Parliament, and had been ſhifting for himſelf as well as he could; the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and the Advice of ſome about him, prevail'd with him to call a third; to make way for which the Gentlemen confin'd for refuſing the Loan-Money were ſet at Liberty. Upon the Meeting of this Parliament a great many bold Speeches were made; " Nor could it be imagi-
" ned ſays my Lord *Clarendon*, that thoſe Men *An.* 1627.
" would meet again in a free Convention of Par-
" liament, without a ſharp and ſevere Expoſtu- Vol. I. *p.* 5.
" lation and Inquiſition into their own Right, Parliamnt.
" and the Power that had impos'd on that Right. Complain
One main Thing they complain'd of was the of Grievan-
Loans. " Let us not flatter our ſelves, ſays Sir ces.
" *Edward Coke*; Who will give Subſidies if the
" King may Impoſe what he will? And if after *Ruſhvvorth*
" Parliament the King may Inhaunce what he *p.* 501.
" pleaſeth? I know the King will not do it:
" He is a Religious King, free from Perſonal
" Vices,

" Vices, but he deals with other Men's Hands, " and ſees with other Men's Eyes: And having aſſerted that the King can't Tax any by way of Loans, he gives his Reaſons for it; to which Purpoſe he produces a *Noble Record*, as he calls it, worthy to be written in Letters of Gold. *It chears me, ſays he, to think of it ('tis the* 25 *of* Edward III *) Loans againſt the Will of the Subject are againſt Reaſon, and the Franchiſes of the Land: The Lord may Tax his Villain high or low; but 'tis againſt the Franchiſes of the Land for Free-Men to be Tax'd, but by their Conſent in Parliament: He adds, In* Magna Charta, *'tis provided that* Nullus Liber homo capiatur, vel Impriſoneter, aut Diſſeiſietur de Libero Tenemento ſuo, &c. niſi per Legale judicium parium Suorum, vel per Legem Terræ; *That no Free-Man ſhould be taken and Impriſon'd and diſpoſſeſs'd of his Freehold; but by the Law of the Land: Which Charter hath been confirm'd by good Kings above thirty Times.* To the ſame purpoſe others of them complain, enlarging on this and ſuch like Grievances. The Deputy Lieutenants, ſays Sir *Robert Philips*, demand upon their Warrant ſuch a Sum of the People, telling them they muſt pay it, or be Bound to their good Behaviour, and ſent up to the Lords of the Council; which, ſays he, is the ſtrangeſt Engine to rend the Liberty of the Subject that ever was.

NOR did they think the Danger of their Liberty greater than that of their Religion; and therefore you'll find their Expoſtulations as warm upon the one Head as the other: Thus Secretary *Coke*, in a Conference between the Lord's and Commons, takes Notice of a Popiſh *Hierarchy* eſtabliſh'd in Competition with that of the Proteſtants. *They have, ſays he, a Biſhop Conſecrated by the* Pope; *this Biſhop hath his Subalternate*

Officers

Officers of all Kinds; as Vicars-General, Arch-Deacons, Rural Deans, &c. *Neither are theſe Titular Officers, but they all execute their Juriſdictions, and make their ordinary Viſitations thro' the Kingdom, keep Courts and determine Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; and which is an Argument of more Conſequence, they keep Ordinary Intelligence by their Agents in* Rome, *and hold Correſpondence with the Nuntio's and Cardinals both at* Bruſſels *and in* France: *Neither are the Seculars alone grown to this Height; but the Regulars are more Active and Dangerous, and have taken deep Root: They have already planted their Colleges and Societies of both Sexes. They have ſettled Revenues, Houſes, Libraries, Veſtments, and all other neceſſary Proviſions to travel or ſtay at Home: They intend to hold a Concurrent Aſſembly with this Parliament.*

AND thus they went on with their Remonſtrances and Complaints, which ſo far diſguſted the Court, that ſoon after a Supply was granted this Parliament alſo was diſſolv'd, and that with ſtrange Circumſtances of Paſſion on all Sides, and with a Declaration and Profeſſion ſays Lord *Clarendon, That ſince for ſeveral ill Ends the Calling again of a Parliament was divulg'd, however his Majeſty had ſhow'd by his frequent Meeting with his People, his Love to the uſe of Parliaments; yet the late Abuſe having for the preſent driven his Majeſty unwillingly out of that Courſe,* He ſhall account it Preſumption of any to preſcribe any time to his Majeſty for Parliaments; *which words ſays he, were generally interpreted, as if no more Aſſemblies of that Nature were to be expected, and that all Men were prohibited upon Penalty of Cenſure, ſo much as to* ſpeak of *a Parliament.* The ſame Hiſtorian adds, *And here I can't but let my ſelf looſe to ſay, that no Man can ſhew me a Source from*

from whence thoſe Waters of Bitterneſs we now taſte have more probably flow'd; than from theſe unreaſonable, unskilful, and Precipitate Diſſolutions of Parliaments. And having lamented this, and cenſur'd ſome Speeches made in the Houſe of Commons, as wanting due Reverence to his Majeſty and his Councils, he is pleas'd to add, *I don't know any form'd Act of either Houſe, (for neither the Remonſtrance nor Votes of the laſt Day were ſuch) that was not agreeable to the Wiſdom and Juſtice of great Courts upon theſe extraordinary Occaſions; and whoever conſiders the Acts of Power and Injuſtice of ſome of the Miniſters in thoſe Intervals of Parliament, will not be ſcandaliz'd* at the Warmth and Vivacity of thoſe Meetings.

Hiſtory of *England*, lib. 1. *p.* 5.

THE King having thus taken leave of his Parliament, and as ſome were ready to ſuſpect, and he himſelf ſeem'd to threaten, of Parliaments, he was forc'd to forſake the uſual, ſafe and legal Method of raiſing Money, and inſtead thereof aſſume a Power that did not conſiſt with the Conſtitution, and at laſt prov'd fatal to it. My Lord *Clarendon* owns, that many unjuſt Projects of all Kinds, (*viz.* for raiſing Money) many ridiculous, many ſcandalous, *all very grievous*, were ſet on Foot; the Envy and Reproach of which came to the King, the Profit to other Men. Tonage and Poundage, ſays he, and other Duties upon Merchandizes were Collected by Order of the Board, which had been poſitively refus'd to be ſettled by Act of Parliament; new and great Impoſitions laid upon Trade: Obſolete Laws were reviv'd and rigorouſly Executed; as that concerning Knight-hood, by which every one that had 40 *l. per Annum* in Rent, was oblig'd to come and receive the Order of Knight-hood: A Proclamation in the Year 1630. allow'd thoſe that would not purchaſe this Honour to Compound,

Hiſtory of Rebellion, lib. 1. *p.* 67

pound; upon Refusal of which many were pro-ecuted to their very great Trouble and Charge: Another of these Devices was the enlarging the Royal Forests beyond their antient Bounds, by means of which several Gentlemen had their E-states call'd in Question; and were severely Fin'd (on pretence of encroaching upon his Majesties Forests) whose Families had been in the quiet Possession for Hundreds of Years.

BUT that which of all others was most Scan-dalous and Offensive, tho' it turn'd to the best Account to his Majesty, (I mean brought in the greatest Supply); was the Project of *Ship-Money*, which was a Tax laid upon the several Port-Towns, with the Assistance and Contribution of the Counties adjoining for the setting out Ships. The City of *London* was requir'd to furnish 20 Ships, with all manner of Tackle, Sea-Stores and Ammunition; and when the Lord Mayor and Commonalty petition'd the Council for A-batement, they were told the former Command was necessary, and as 'twas given to all in general, and every particular of the City; so the State will require an Account both of the City in ge-neral, and of every particular; and whereas they mention'd Precedents, they were told the Pre-cedents of former Times were *Obedience* not *Di-rection*; and that Precedents were not wanting for the Punishment of those that disobey his Majesty's Commands: The Lord *Clarendon* gives more particular Account of this Matter, which I shall subjoin. "A Writ, says he, was fram'd "in a Form of Law, and directed to the Sheriffs "of every County of *England* to provide a Ship "of War for the King's Service; and to send it "amply provided and fitted by such a Day to "such a Place; and with that Writ were sent "to each Sheriff Instructions, that instead of a Ship,

Ship-Money.

Rushworth Vol. I. Prt. 2. *p.* 416.

" Ship, he ſhould levy upon his County ſuch a
" Sum of Money, and return the ſame to the
" Treaſurer of the Navy for his Majeſty's Uſe;
" with Direction how he ſhould proceed againſt
" ſuch as refus'd; by which Tax, for ſome
" Years, there accrued the yearly Sum of Two
" hundred Thouſand Pounds to the King's Coffers.

IT ſeems the Honour of this Project belongs to *Noy* the Attorney-General, who alledg'd in Vindication of it, " That when the Kingdom is
" in imminent Danger the King may raiſe Money
" *by his own Authority*, without hazarding its
" Ruine by attending tedious Formalities in
" raiſing it otherwiſe;" Which Caſe was afterwards, upon Mr. *Hambden*'s Refuſal to pay what was demanded of him, publickly urg'd with great Solemnity, before all the Judges in *England* in the Exchequer-Chamber, and by much the major part of them, the King's Right to impoſe aſſerted, and the Tax adjudg'd Lawful. But this was neither for the Judges Credit nor his Majeſty's Service. It can't be expreſt, ſays my Lord *Clarendon*, what Damage and Miſchief the Crown ſuſtain'd by the deſerv'd Reproach and Infamy that attended the Judges; by being made uſe of in this and the like Acts of Power. There being no poſſibility to preſerve the Dignity, Reverence, and Eſtimation of the Laws, but by the Integrity and Innocency of the Judges. He takes notice in the foregoing Page, that the preſſure (of Ship-Money) was born with much more Chearfulneſs before the Judgment for the *King (againſt Hambden)* than ever it was after, many being willing to do ſomething they were not bound to, as a Teſtimony of their Affection to the King; expecting when they ſhould be weary, they might reſort to the Law for Relief and find it: But when they heard this demand

Clarendon, lib. 1. *p.* 68.

lib. 1. *p.* 70.

ed in a Court of Law as a Right, and found it by Sworn Judges of the Law adjudg'd ſo, upon ſuch Grounds and Reaſons as every Stander-by was able to *Swear was not Law*; and inſtead of giving were requir'd to pay, and by a Logic that left no Man any thing he might call his own; they look'd upon it then (ſays he) the Caſe of the Kingdom, and thought themſelves *bound in Conſcience* to the publick Juſtice, not to ſubmit to it.

THE *Star-Chamber*, the *High Commiſſion Court* were a ſtanding Oppreſſion to the Nation. The ſame great Hiſtorian laſt mention'd ſpeaking of theſe, particularly the *Star-Chamber* (with the Council) ſays, ' For the better Support of theſe extraordinary ways, and to protect the Agents and Inſtruments who muſt be imploy'd in them, and to ſuppreſs all Oppoſers. the Council Table and Star-Chamber inlarg'd their Juriſdiction to a vaſt Extent, holding (as *Thucycides* ſaid of the *Athenians*) for honourable, that which pleas'd; and for juſt, that which profited; and being the ſame Perſons in ſeveral Rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine Right, and Courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treaſury; the Council Table by Proclamations enjoyning to People what was not enjoyn'd by Law, and prohibiting what was not prohibited; and the Star-Chamber cenſuring the Breach and Diſobedience to theſe Proclamations, by very great Fines and Impriſonment: So that any diſreſpect to any Acts of State, or to the Perſons of States-men, was in no time more Penal; and thoſe Foundations of Right, by which Men valu'd their Security, to the Apprehenſion and Underſtanding of wiſe Men, never more in danger to be deſtroy'd. In ſhort theſe Lib. 1. p. 68

Courts were a *Sort of Inquiſitions*, in which the beſt Subjects in the Nation, were Haraſs'd and Tortur'd; an Emblem of which was *Wentworth's*, (afterwards Lord *Strafford*) Council in the North.

IT was indeed the grand miſtake and ſpecial Infelicity of this Government, that the King Encouraged thoſe about him, that drew him to neglect both Law and Parliaments; in which Service *Strafford* and *Laud* were ſuppos'd, Chief Inſtruments. It was Witneſſed againſt *Strafford* at his Trial, that he ſhou'd ſay at *York-Aſſizes*, that nothing cou'd content ſome but Law, but they ſhou'd know the *Kings little Finger, ſhou'd be heavier than the Loyns of the Law*: And it ſeems the King was ſo far flatter'd into an opinion of his Abſoluteneſs, that in Anſwer to the Commons Remoſtrance, *Anno* 1629. he expreſly tells them, that he was not bound to give an Account of his Actions, to any but God only; and when it was told him, that his demanding Ship Money was Unpreſidented, he Anſwer'd, Preſidents were not wanting, for the Puniſhment of them, that diſobey the Kings Commands.

Ruſhworth, part the 2d. p. 146.

BESIDES theſe manifeſt and Groſs Invaſions upon the Civil Rights of the Subject, ſundry ſteps were taken in the Conduct of the Church, and the management of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, that not only diſguſted particular Perſons, but allarm'd the greateſt part of the Nation. 'Tis known that *Biſhop Laud* was at the head of theſe Affairs. He had ſo much the Aſcendant in the Kings *Council*, that if the King in the Throne was greater than he, yet according to his Word was all the People rul'd. But alas! what a perfect *Phaeton* was he, driving the Chariot ſo furiouſly as to ſet all on Fire, or rather like the *Theoriſts* Tail of a Comet,

Laud's furious Conduct in the Affairs of the Church.

Comet, deluging these poor Nations in Confusion and Blood.

ONE Notable contrivance he had, which afterwards admirably serv'd his purpose. He provided a List of Ecclesiastical Persons, (which was presented to the King by *Buckingham*) in Two Columns, distinguished by the Letters *O* and *P*, the one standing for Orthodox, the other for Puritan, (the one being Elect, the other Reprobate) by which means he hoped to bring the Church into good hands, and furnish himself with Tools to work by: And what Innovations, and indeed Desolations he made, during his Pontificate, is too well known. He commanded the *Communion Table* to be set Altar-wise, to be rail'd in, requiring Persons to † Bow towards it; provided Candlesticks, Tapers, Copes for Administring the Sacrament; had a large Crucifix over the High Altar; and in the Windows of his Chappel, the *Picture of God himself, in the form of an Old Man*, with a Glory round about his Head. *Rushworth*, part 1. p. 67.

AND so zealously intent was he about these things, as if the whole of Religion had lain in them; Prosecuting all with the utmost severity, that shou'd refuse to comply with his Injunctions, or withstand his humour therein. Mr. *Cancey*, Minister of *Ware* in *Hertford-shire*, was brought into the high Commission, for opposing the making a Rail about the Communion-Table in his Parish-Church, and was there pronounc'd Guilty of Contempt of Ecclesiastical Government, and of Schism; suspended from his Ministry, Condemn'd in great Costs of Suit, and Imprison'd till he paid the same, or Recanted.

† Among the Statutes he sent down to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, which the Prebends and Chapter Swore to, one was, That as they came in and out of the Quire, they shou'd Worship towards the Altar; *Adorare versus Altare.*

Rushworth, part 2. *p.* 316. Mr. *Sherfield* Recorder of *Sarum*, and a Justice of Peace for the same City, fell under the like Discipline. It seems he took offence at a Picture in their Church, which was of God the Father, represented in a Window of Painted Glass, as an Old Man in a Blue and Red Coat: To which some Old Women, when they pass'd by, were observ'd to pay their Respects; and being ask'd to whom they made their Courtesies, answer'd, *It was to their God in the Glass-Window*: Mr. *Sherfield* being justly offended at this Foolish Superstition, mov'd the Parish at a Vestry, that he might have Liberty to take away these offensive Pictures, and put up white Glass in the Room, which the Parishioners consent to, and the thing is done; for which Fact this busie presumptuous Reformer was call'd to an Account in the Star-Chamber, accus'd as being evil affected to the Discipline of the Church of *England*, and encouraging such as oppos'd its Government under the Reverend Bishops; Representing that he had unlawfully, Riotously, and *prophanely broke down that Glass-Window*, in scorn of his Majesty's Government; and in Conclusion he was Displac'd from being Recorder, Fin'd Five Hundred Pound, and bound to his good Behaviour: Others were suspended and Excommunicated, for speaking against Images and Crucifixes; as was Mr. *John Workman*, a Minister in *Glouceſter*; and whereas the Corporation had settled an Annuity, of Twenty Pound *per Annum*, upon him in Consideration of his Diligence in Preaching and Numerous Family: The Mayor and Aldermen were on this very Account, prosecuted at the Council-Table, and high Commission, and at last had a Fine Impos'd upon 'em: Nay, it seems the Angry Bishop carried his resentment to such an height, that he would not suffer the Poor Man

Rushworth, part 2. *p.* 153, &c.

Man ſo much as to Teach School, or Practice Phyſick, for the ſupport of his Wife and Children.

BUT that which made the greateſt Noiſe of all the Reſt, and was thought by ſome to ſavour not a little of *Popery*, was the ſuperſtitious manner of *Laud's* Conſecrating *Catherine Creed Church*, in *London*, which I ſhall ſubjoyn in the Margin. This being afterwards objected againſt him in

St. Catherine Creed Church being lately Repair'd, was ſuſpended from Divine Service, Sermons and Sacraments, till it was Conſecrated; whereupon Dr. *Laud*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, on the 16th of *January*, being the Lord's-Day, came thither in the Morning to conſecrate the ſame; now becauſe great exceptions were taken at the Formality hereof, we will briefly relate the manner of the Conſecration. At the Biſhops approach to the Weſt Door of the Church, ſome that were prepar'd for it, Cried with a loud Voice, *Open, Open*, the Everlaſting Doors that the King of Glory may enter in; and preſently the Doors were open'd, and the Biſhop with ſome Doctors, and many other Principal Men went in, and immediately falling down upon his Knees, with his Eyes lifted up, and his Arms ſpread, utter'd theſe Words, *This place is Holy, This Ground is Holy*, In the Name of the Father Son and Holy Ghoſt, I pronounce it Holy. Then he threw up ſome of the Duſt into the Air, ſeveral times: In his going up towards the Chancel, when they approach'd near to the Rail of the Communion Table, the Biſhop bow'd towards it ſeveral times; and returning they went round the Church in Proceſſion, ſaying the 100 Pſalm, after that the 19 Pſalm; and then ſaid a Form of Prayer, *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. And concluding, we Conſecrate this Church, and ſeparate it to thee as Holy Ground, not to be Prophan'd any more to common Uſe. After this the Biſhop being near the Communion-Table, and taking a Written Book in his Hand, *pronounc'd Curſes* upon thoſe that ſhou'd afterwards prophane *that Holy Place*, by Muſters of Souldiers, or keeping prophane Law-Courts, or carrying Burdens through it; and at the end of every Curſe, he bowed towards the Eaſt, and ſaid, *let all the People ſay* Amen: When the Curſes were ended, he pronounc'd a Number of Bleſſings, upon all thoſe that had a hand in Framing or Building of that Sacred and Beautiful Church; and thoſe that had given or ſhou'd hereafter give any Chalices, Plate, Ornaments or Utenſils; at the End of every Bleſſing, he bowed towards the Eaſt, ſaying *let all the People ſay* Amen: After this follow'd the Sermon, which being ended, the Biſhop Conſecrated and Adminiſtred the Sacrament, in manner following: As he approach'd the Communion-Table, he made many lowly Bowings, and coming up to the Side of the Table, where the Bread and Wine were Cover'd, *he Bowed Seven times*; and then after the Reading of many Prayers, he came near the Bread, and

Parliament, as an evidence of his Inclination to Introduce *Popery*: The Biſhop defends the Practice in general (of Conſecrating Churches) from the Example of *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, &c. and of *Conſtantine*: Maintain'd that he came to the Church, not in a Pompous manner, (as was alledg'd) *but only in a grave and ſeemly manner*; he grants he fell down upon his Knees; but that was no more than his Duty; for ſo did *Moſes* and *Aaron* at the Door of the Tabernacle: And for the form of Conſecration, he ſaid Biſhop *Andrews* made it. And to the Objection, That the Form of Prayer he us'd was taken out of the *Maſs-Book* and *Roman Pontifical*, he Reply'd, it may be ſo; and many other very good Prayers are in it. I don't ſay, that this proves *Laud* a full *Papiſt*, nor that he and thoſe that joyn'd with him in his ſtrange Meaſures, had any purpoſe of Introducing and ſetling entire *Popery* in the Nation; but I think one may ſay, with the Noble *Lord Falkland*, that they were for trying how much of a *Papiſt*, might be brought in without *Popery*; he goes a little further indeed, and ſays, it was as much as Fifteen Hundred Ponnd a Year, cou'd hinder ſome of them, from declaring themſelves directly *Papiſts*; and it ſeems, the *Papiſts* them-

gently lifted up the Corner of the Napkin, wherein the Bread was laid; and when he beheld the Bread, he laid it down again, *flew back a ſtep or two*, Bow'd ſeveral times towards it, then he drew near again and open'd the Napkin, and Bowed as before: Then he laid his hand on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a Cover upon it; which he let go again, *went back and Bowed thrice towards it*: Then he came near again, and lifting up the Cover of the Cup, look'd into it, and ſeeing the Wine, he let fall the Cover again, retir'd back and Bow'd as before; then he receiv'd the Sacrament, and gave it to ſome Principal Men, after which many Prayers being ſaid, the Solemnity of the Conſecration ended. *Ruſhworth*, part 2d. *p.* 76. *The Conſecration of St. Catherine Creed Church.*

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ſelves had ſo great an opinion of *Laud's Diſpoſition* towards them, that they twice offer'd him a Cardinal's **Cap**; as he confeſſes in his Diary; tho' after all, the Learned Book he wrote againſt *Fiſher*, ſhows he had a great deal to ſay againſt that Religion; and tho' he often ſet his Face ſo, as many thought he was bound for *Rome*, yet it may be he never deſign'd above half the way. *Nelſons Collect.*

IT exceedingly added to *the Scandal of this Papizing*, that whilſt as good Proteſtants and Church Men as any in the Kingdom, were Brow-Beaten, and torn to pieces in their Courts, (if they cou'd not keep time, and dance after *Laud's* Pipe); *the* Papiſts *were Treated with the utmoſt Tenderneſs*, not to ſay hugg'd and Careſs'd: None muſt be allow'd ſo much as to Write againſt *Popery*; and if they preſum'd to do it, their Books were refuſed Licence; or if they Stole into the World, the Authors were ſure to be call'd to an Account and Smart for't: Nay, at laſt an Order paſt in the Star-Chamber, againſt Reprinting any Books without a New Licence: Upon which, the *Books of Martyrs* cou'd not get leave to appear in the World, nor the Works of *Jewel* and *Willet*, in a New Impreſſion; nor even the Practice of Piety, tho' it had Thirty Six Editions, without ever being queſtion'd. And it ſeems ſo full of Grace was this Doctor to the Catholicks, that he proſecuted Mr. *Gillabrand*, the Mathematical Profeſſor of *Greſham* Colledge, for Publiſhing an *Almanack*, in which he inſerted the Names of Proteſtant Martyrs, out of Mr. *Fox's Calendar*, inſtead of thoſe pretended Saints, whom the *Pope* had Canoniz'd; and at the ſame time, his Chaplain made no Scruple to Licence, a Scandalous Book, in which the *firſt Reformers*, who Seal'd their Religion with their *Laud's* Tenderneſs to the *Papiſts*. *Ruſhworth*, Collect. part 2d. *p.* 45c.

Withers, Ibid. Blood, were Stigmatiz'd with the Odious Names of *Traitours and Rebels.*

'TIS granted that ſometimes the *Papiſts* had hard Words given 'em, and Proclamations were put forth againſt them; but they pretty well underſtood the meaning of it; aud were ſeldom either much affrighted, or much hurt. Dr. *Kennet* owns, 'That by the Intereſt of the Queen, the 'King was often prevail'd upon, to Grant Let-'ters of Grace and Favour, in behalf of the '*Papiſts*, and to direct his Precepts in the Courts 'of Juſtice, to ſtay all Proceedings againſt them 'upon Indictment, Preſentment, or Informati-'on, for Recuſancy; and even after their Con-'viction, Letters of Protection were ſent by 'the Secretaries of State, to the Judges of the 'Court, that their Penalties and Fines ſhou'd 'not be Eſtreated into the Exchequer; 'many of the Privy Council were indeed 'ſuſpected to be inclining to *Popery*, and ſome 'of them died in the *Romiſh* Religion, as the '*Lord Cottington, and the Lord Treaſurer 'Weſton.*"

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. *p.* 70.

Laud's ſeverity to the Puritans.

IN the mean time, it increaſed the Scandal, as I ſaid, that things were carried with ſuch an high hand towards the Stancheſt Proteſtants in the Nation, if they happen'd not to have Conſciences, of *Laud's* Meaſure and Latitude. To call the *Pope Antichriſt*, oppoſe any of *Laud's* Innovations, or diſobey his Arbitary Injunctions, wou'd bring a Man under the Odium of Puritaniſm, Faction, *&c.* and which is worſe, expoſe him to the Mercileſs Diſcipline of the high Commiſſion: Thus that of the Poet was again verified, and it may be never more than now.

Dat veniam Corvis, vexat Cenſura Columbas.

Dr. *Williams Biſhop of Lincoln*, was one of thoſe that fell under the Reſentment of this warm Prelate,

Prelate, tho' he had been a chief Inſtrument in his Promotion. It ſeems the Biſhop was not only inclin'd to ſhew ſome Mercy to the Puritans, of which he was accus'd by *Lamb* and *Sibthorp*: (Crime enough to undo him,) but he ventur'd to Write a Book againſt the Innovations, that *Laud* was making, (a Book, ſays my *Lord Clarendon*, full of good Learning, and that cloſely and Solidly apply'd,) for which, with ſome other * offences, the greateſt of all, it may be, was his *not Bowing to Haman*, he was Fin'd Ten Thouſand Pounds to the King, ſuſpended by the *high Commiſſion* from all his Dignities, Offices and Functions; and Sentenc'd to ſuffer Impriſonment, during his Majeſties Pleaſure.

Laud's Ingratitude to Biſhop *Williams.*

IT would be perfectly needleſs to ſay, that the *Puritans or Nonconformiſts* met with Severities; they were look'd upon by the governing Party of the Church, ſuch Reprobates and Miſcreants, that to cruſh them, was thought no more a Fault, than 'tis with the Papiſts to deſtroy Hereticks. The beſt Proviſion they could make for themſelves ordinarily, was to tranſport themſelves and Families into *New England*, which yet the Mercy of their Enemies would not always allow them to do; being unwilling, it ſeems, to loſe their Prey.

ONE thing further I can't but take Notice of referring to this Head, That whereas there were ſeveral *French* and *Dutch* Churches of Proteſtants

* This Biſhop had ſhewn himſelf againſt the Meaſures of the Court, that time; and the Violences of *Laud*, and upon occaſion, appeared for the Privileges of the Subject, according to Law, which made him unacceptable. 'Tis ſaid when the King began to frown on him; he asked the Earl of *Holland*, whom whence the Diſpleaſure of the Court ſhou'd proceed, to which the Earl anſwer'd, he muſt expect worſe than being diſmiſt the Council, *becauſe he was ſuch a Champion for the Petition of Right*, and that there was no Room at the Table for them that lik'd it.

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The *French* and *Dutch* Churches threatned and moleſted by *Laud.*

receiv'd and cheriſh'd in this Nation, ever ſince the beginning of the *Reformation*, under *Edward* VI. the Arch-Biſhop violently aſſaults them, diſturbs their Repoſe, and reſolves to make them lay aſide the Model of their own Worſhip, and conform to the Church of *England*, as he was forming it; to which purpoſe he ſends down his Injunctions to *Canterbury*, that all the Natives of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Congregations in his Grace's Dioceſs, ſhould repair to their ſeveral Pariſh-Churches, where they inhabited, to hear Divine Service and Sermons, and perform all Duties and Payments requir'd in that behalf; and tho' the Miniſters and others that were not born Subjects to the King, were (by the King's interpoſing on their behalf) allow'd their own Diſcipline, and to Worſhip God in their own Way; yet 'twas injoyn'd, that the *Engliſh* Liturgy ſhould be tranſlated into *French* and *Dutch*, *for the better fitting their Children to the Engliſh Government*; by which he took from them the Liberty of bringing up their Children in their own Principles. They remonſtrate againſt theſe Hardſhips, he replies that his Majeſty was reſolved the Injunctions ſhould be obey'd; and that he doubted not but they themſelves, or their Poſterity, would have Cauſe to thank both the State and the Church for this Care taken of them; but if they refus'd, he muſt then proceed againſt them as Natives according to the Laws and Canons Eccleſiaſtical.

Ibid, p. 72.

Proſecution of *Pryn*, *Baſtwick*, & *Burton.*

ANOTHER famous Inſtance of the Moderation and Mercy of Biſhop *Laud* and his Party at that time, I ſhall here ſubjoin. Three noted Gentlemen of different Profeſſions, *Pryn*, *Baſtwick*, and *Burton*, (the 1ſt. a Lawyer, the 2d. a Phyſician, the 3d. a Divine) hapned to incur the Diſpleaſure of the Government, and were proceeded

againſt

gainſt in the Star-Chamber. The Doctor's Offence was writing a Book entitled, *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium*, which was all'd a Libel reflecting upon the Hierarchy of he Church: Mr. *Burton*'s Offence was publiſhng a Sermon, preach'd the 5th of *November*, wherein he charg'd the Prelates for introducing everal Innovations in Divine Worſhip. Mr. *Pryn* was the Arch-Offender; he publiſh'd a arge Treatiſe call'd, *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, againſt tage-Plays; 'Where, ſays Dr. *Kennet*, by very profuſe Collections, he expos'd the Liberties of the Stage; and becauſe the Court became now more addicted to theſe Ludicrous Entertainments; and the Queen her ſelf was ſo fond of the Amuſement, that ſhe bore the part of a Paſtoral in her own Royal Perſon; therefore this Treatiſe againſt Plays was ſuppos'd to be levell'd againſt the Practices of the Court, and the Example of the Queen; and it was ſuppos'd an *Innuendo*, that in the Table of the Book this Reference was put, *Women Actors Notorious Whores*; thereby as was alledged, reflecting upon her Majeſty: The Attorney General proſecuted *Pryn* for this Libel in the Star-Chamber, *Laud* being the Inſtrument and Abettor of the Proceſs, by ſhewing the Book to the King, and pointing at the Offenſive Parts of it, and by imploying Dr. *Heylyn* to pick out all the virulent Paſſages, and give the ſevereſt Turn unto them; and laſtly, by carrying thoſe Notes to the Attorney-General for Matter of Information, and urging him earneſtly to proceed againſt the Author: Which tho' a Prelate might do, (ſays the Doctor) with ſincere Intention to ſuppreſs Libelling, and to aſſert the reſpect to Crown'd Heads; yet 'twas look'd upon by ſome ſerious Men, as a giving Coun-

Ibid, p. 62.

'Countenance to the Profaneneſs and Licenti-
'ouſneſs of the Stage; which ought rather to
'have been reprov'd and reſtrain'd by a Chriſti-
'an Biſhop.

WELL theſe were their Offences. The Sentence was that they ſhould ſtand in the Pillory, and loſe their Ears at the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, ſhould pay a Fine of 5000 pound each to the King, and be impriſon'd during Life, which they were in three remote Places; one in the Caſtle of *Lanceſton*, in *Cornwall*, another in the *Ibid. p.* 72. Caſtle of *Lancaſter*, and a third in *Carnarvan* Caſtle in *Wales*; from whence they were afterwards remov'd to three Iſlands, and no acceſs of Friends allow'd to them.

I muſt obſerve as to *Pryn*, more pains is taken to Convict and puniſh him too than the reſt. The Attorney-General in ſetting forth his Caſe in the Star-Chamber, takes Notice that he had printed a Libellous Volume againſt Plays, Maſques, *&c.* altho' he knew that his Majeſty's Royal Queen, Lords of the Council, *&c.* were in their publick Feſtivals and other Times preſent Spectators of ſome Maſques and Dances, *&c.* yet he had rail'd not only againſt Stage-Plays, Comedies, Dancing, *&c.* but againſt Chriſtmas-keeping and May-poles, *&c.* which it ſeems is thought ſo flagrant a Crime, as to deſerve a very heavy Puniſhment, *viz.* that his Book be Burnt, that he himſelf be put from the Bar, be for ever uncapable of his Profeſſion; and becauſe he was Bred at *Oxford*, there to be degraded; (at the mentioning of *Oxford*, *Laud* ſays with a low Voice, *I am ſorry that* Oxford *ever bred ſuch a Member*): To which is to be added the Loſs of both his Ears, with the Impriſonment and Fine before mention'd.

NOR

NOR are they only watchful to obſerve what's printed and preach'd, but ſeem jealous of preaching it ſelf; and therefore, as if they were afraid the People ſhould receive Damage that way, a ſevere Order was publiſh'd by the Arch-biſhop for the putting down *all Afternoon-Sermons*, under pretence of complying with his Majeſty's Inſtructions of Catechiſing by Queſtion and Anſwer; and which one would think very peculiar, not only all other Catechiſms, except that in the Common-Prayer were prohibited, but all Expoſitions even of this Catechiſm, which Biſhop *Wren* declar'd as bad as a Sermon: Not a few of the Miniſters were ſuſpended for diſobeying this Order: Dr. *Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Zeal againſt Afternoon-Sermons, and ſo effectually ſuppreſt the dangerous and ill practice of Preaching twice a Day, that he gave God Thanks that he had not one Lecture left in all his Dioceſs. Mr. *Deveniſh* Miniſter of *Bridgwater*, was ſuſpended by him for preaching in the Lord's Day-Evening, tho' a Funeral Sermon; and another was call'd to an Account for having two Sermons in his Church *on the Pariſh Revel-Day*; the Biſhop alledging, that 'twas an hindrance to the Revel, and to the utterance of the Church-Ale: Another of his Clergy (Mr. *Erford*) was ſummon'd for preaching on *a Revel Day upon* Joel's *Exhortation to Faſting, Weeping and Mourning*, and was told that his very Text was Scandalous to the Revel: Nay, when ſome only enlarg'd on the Queſtions and Anſwers in the Church Catechiſm, without attempting to Preach, they were ſharply rebuk'd by their Dioceſan, and told, *It was Catechiſing Sermon-wiſe, and as bad as Preaching.*

Afternoon-Sermons & Catechiſing put down by Ar. Biſhop *Laud.*

Canterbury's Doom, p. 376, &c.

BUT

BUT nothing was more Offenſive to the ſobereſt part of the Nation, than the Infamous Book of Sports mention'd before, which was generally believ'd; (and *Pryn* endeavours to prove againſt him at his Trial) was contriv'd by Arch-Biſhop *Laud*: The immediate Occaſion of it ſeems to be this; a Complaint being made concerning Ales and Revels upon the Wakes, or Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches in *Somerſetſhire*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*, and Baron *Denham* in their Circuit in that County, made the following Order:

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 66.

WHEREAS divers Orders have been made heretofore by Judges of the Aſſize, for the Supreſſion of all Ales and Revels; the ſame Order is now confirm'd at the Aſſizes, in regard of the infinite Number of Inconveniencies daily ariſing by Means of Revels (many having been indicted for Murdering Baſtard Children, begotten at Wakes and Revels.) It is again order'd by the Court, that ſuch Revels, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, and all other publick Ales, be henceforth utterly ſuppreſt; and to the End this may be obſerv'd, it's further order'd that the Clerk of the Aſſizes ſhall leave Copies hereof with the Miniſters of every Pariſh within his ſeveral Hundred, and ſhall give a Note under his Hand, that he ſhall Publiſh it yearly within the Pariſh, the firſt Sunday in February, *and likewiſe the ſecond Sundays before* Eaſter *yearly.*

Wakes defended by the Arch-Biſhop.

THE Arch-Biſhop took Fire at this, complain'd to the King of the Irregularity of the Judges, writes to the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells* to know how theſe Feaſts were obſerv'd. The Biſhop anſwer'd, That the antient Cuſtom of thoſe Feaſts was Laudable and Innocent; that

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yet the late Supreſſion was very unacceptable, and the Reſtitution of 'em would be grateful to the Clergy, Gentry and Common People; upon which the Lord Chief Juſtice was Reproved at the Council-Table, ſeverely check'd, and, as he expreſſes it, *almoſt Choak'd with a Pair of Laun Slevees*; and in Concluſion was Injoyn'd publickly to Revoke his own Order.

THE Gentlemen of that County hearing of this, joyn'd in a Petition to his Majeſty, That no Encouragement might be given to thoſe Riotous and Lewd Aſſemblies: But *Laud* was dearer to the King every way, then they; and by his Intereſt with him prevail'd, that inſtead of ſuppreſſing Yearly Wakes, to have every Sunday in effect turn'd into a Wake; which was done by reviving the Book of Sports, put forth in King *James's* time.

Book of Sports reviv'd by the *Arch-Biſhop.*

'WHEREIN it was Declar'd as his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that the Laws of the Kingdom, and Canons of the Church, be well obſerv'd, and that no lawful Recreation be barr'd to his good People, which ſhall not tend to the Breach of the foreſaid Laws and Canons (not one word of the Laws of God;) that after the end of Divine Service, his good People been't diſturb'd or let from any lawful Recreation, ſuch as Dancing, Archery, Leaping, Vaulting, &c. tho' none muſt have this Indulgence, that abſtain from coming to Church, or yet are not preſent at Divine Service, before their going to the ſaid Recreations. This was the Pious Care of King *James*, which being now Renew'd, 'tis added, 'Out of the *like Pious Care* for the Service of God (which one wou'd think was a Banter, put in by ſome Puritan, or other Perſon evil affected to his Majeſty's Government) and for ſuppreſſing of any humours that

'oppoſe

'oppoſe Truth, and for the Eaſe, Comfort and 'Recreation, of his well deſerving People, his 'Majeſty doth Ratify and Publiſh, this his 'Bleſſed Father's Declaration, the rather, be-'cauſe in ſome County's under pretence of taking 'away ſome Abuſes: There hath been a general forbidding not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feaſt of the Dedication of Churches, commonly call'd *Wakes*: Now his Majeſty's Expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That theſe Feaſts be Obſerv'd, and that none do trouble or moleſt any of his Loyal or Dutiful People, for their Lawful Recreations, *on the Sabbath-Day.*

NOR was this ſent out into the Nation, with the like Indifferency, as if it had been againſt Immorality and Prophaneneſs, but was armed with Power, and accompliſh'd with Zeal; all the Miniſters of the Kingdom, were enjoyn'd to Read the Declaration, in their Churches, in the time of Divine Service, and ſeveral of 'em were ſuſpended for refuſing it: Sir *Nathaniel Brent* atteſted on Oath, that being the *Arch-Biſhops Vicar*, he had expreſs Orders from his Grace, to ſuſpend all ſuch as wou'd not read the *Book of Sports*, in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury.*

Withers, p. 30.

AND if we caſt an Eye to *Scotland*, we ſhall find the Conduct of this unhappy Man, no leſs Violent and Miſchievous there. He threw all into the utmoſt Confuſion, and by a ſtrange Zeal, that one can't well call by its proper Name, carried things to ſuch extremities, as bred a great deal of ill Blood, brought on a War between *Charles* and the *Scots*: And had like to have ruin'd *both* Kingdoms, and wou'd have done it, had not Providence remarkably interpoſed. That this may appear, I'll touch a little upon the *Scotch* Affairs. King *James*, after his Acceſſion

Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*, made ſeveral innovations in the Government of the Church of *Scotland*; notwithſtanding he had formerly declar'd ſo warmly for it, as he did in the *General Aſſembly* at *Edinburgh*, 1594; where having applauded their *Kirk*, as the ſincereſt in the World; he adds, I charge ye My Good People, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Gentlemen, and Barons to *ſtand* to your *Purity*, and to exhort the People to do the ſame, and I, as long as I brook my Life and Crown, ſhall maintain the ſame: And when he took leave of 'em, he gave them Aſſurances, that their Diſcipline and Government, ſhou'd not be alter'd; and yet alas! forgot himſelf (a fault he often run into). 'He obtain'd an Act for a publick Liturgy, in a *General Aſſembly* at *Aberdeen*, 1616. and ſome Concluſions agreeable to the *Engliſh* Church, in another Aſſembly at *Perth*, 1618. beſides this, he brought ſome *Scotch* Biſhops (for Titular Biſhops they had before, who Voted in Parliament, tho' Subject to the Aſſembly, and owning themſelves not Superiour in Order, to the Reſt of their Brethren) to be Conſecrated by *Engliſh* Prelates, in 1610; ſet up a high Commiſſion for the ordering Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. He allow'd an Abſolution in *England*, to the Marqueſs of *Huntley*, who ſtood Excommunicated in *Scotland*; paſt an Article in Parliament, 1617, That what ever his Majeſty ſhou'd Determine in the External Government of the Church, with the advice of the *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, and a competent Number of the Miniſtry, ſhou'd have the ſtrength of a Law.

Innovations in Church of *Scotland*, by K. *James*.

Chalder-wood.

HIS *Son* by the Influence of his great Manager went further, and Improv'd upon theſe beginnings. In the Year 1633, when he was

Crown'd in *Scotland*, he attempts the Reducing their Church, to a Conformity with that of *England*; to which purpoſe, the Biſhop of *London* (*Laud*) Preach'd in the Royal Chappel, and inſiſted upon the Benefits of Conformity, and the Reverence due to the Ceremonies of the Church: And tho' ſuch Diſcourſe was far from being to the Guſt of the People, the King ſeems Reſolv'd to proceed; and therefore Orders a Liturgy to be prepar'd.

Liturgy prepar'd to *Scotland* by *Laud*

Laud had the management of this matter, but thought fit to Intereſt ſome of the *Scotch* Biſhops in it, who (*Apr.* 2. 1635) acquaint his Grace by Letter, 'that they wiſh a full Conformity in 'the Churches, that they had made a further 'Progreſs, than cou'd be expected, and hop'd 'ſtill to go further, if it pleas'd God to continue 'his Grace in Health and Life". The next Year the Work is brought to ſome Perfection; being diſtinguiſh'd from the *Engliſh* Liturgy in Sundry particulars, which were *Laud*'s Improvements, *viz.* That in their Calendar, they ſhou'd keep ſuch Catholick Saints, as were in the *Engliſh*, with ſuch other Saints, as were peculiar to that Kingdom. That in ordaining Presbyters, they ſhou'd keep the Words of the *Engliſh* Book, *receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. that they Inſert more Chapters out of the *Apocrypha* in the Leſſons. That every Biſhop uſe this Service twice a day, and cauſe that the Univerſities do the ſame; and with theſe Corrections, it was confirm'd by his Majeſties Declaration, Dated at *Edingburgh. October* 20, 1636.

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*. Vol. III. *p.* 80.

How the Service was receiv'd in *Scotland*.

IT was firſt publickly Read in the great Church in *Edingburgh*, *July* 23, 1637. but with ſuch an uproar and outcry of the People, as very much diſturb'd the Harmony of the New Worſhip: (Some of the People crying out *a Pope*, *a Pope*, Antichriſt,

Antichriſt, Antichriſt, *Stone him, Stone him*; meaning the *Dean* that was the Reader; and it ſeems one pert Woman, *Jennet Gaddis*, was ſo much Inrag'd, that ſhe flung the Stool on which ſhe ſat, at the *Dean*'s Head, ſaying *out thou falſe Thief, doſt thou ſay the Maſs at my Lug?* The Biſhop of *Edingburgh* gets up to the Pulpit, to appeaſe the Angry folk; but neither his endeavours, nor thoſe of the *Arch-Biſhop* of St. *Andrew*'s cou'd prevail any thing, 'till the Magiſtrates Interpos'd, and thruſt them out of the Church; after which the Dean return'd to his Service, the People in the mean time, thundring at the Doors, ſhut againſt them, and throwing in Stones at the Windows; and when the Work of the Day was over, and the *Arch-Biſhop* was retireing, the enrag'd People Aſſaulted him with ſo much Violence; that, had he not been ſeaſonably Reſcu'd, his Life had been in Danger: And ſomething of the like oppoſition, was made in other Churches, wherever they try'd to ſet up the New Service.

ONE thing that very much heightned the Reſentments of the Nation, was the Spirit and Character, of theſe Biſhops. My Lord *Falkland* ſays, that *Laud* obtruded upon the Church of *Scotland* ſuch Biſhops, as Correſponded beſt with his own humour; who by their Inſolent and Imprudent Management, diſoblig'd all ſorts of People: And the late *Biſhop of Sarum* ſays of theſe Prelates, 'That they endeavour'd in their Ser-'mons and Diſcourſes, to leſſen the Prejudice 'of that Nation, againſt the *Papiſts*; mollifying 'their Opinions, and Commending their Perſons, 'not without ſome Reflections on the Refor-'mers; but this was ſo far, ſays he, from gaining 'their deſign, that it abated nothing of 'the Zeal that was againſt *Popery*; but very much

Ruſhworths Part 2d. Vol. I. *p.* 392. from *Hamilton's* Memoirs.

‘ heightned the Rage againſt themſelves, as fa-
‘ vouring it too much: Nor did the Nobility
‘ take it well to ſee the *Church-men* ſo much in-
‘ termedling with State-Affairs; Nine of whom
‘ were Privy-Counſellors, divers of them were
‘ of the *Exchequer*; *Spotſwood*, Arch-Biſhop of
‘ *St. Andrews*, was made Chancellor; and *Max-*
‘ *well*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, was fair for the Treaſury,
‘ and engag'd in a high Rivalry with the Earl
‘ of *Traquair*, then Treaſurer; which, ſays my
‘ Author, tended not a little to help forward
‘ their Ruin.

Book of Canons prepared for *Scotland*.

AND as the Arch-Biſhop provided them with Forms for Worſhip, ſo with the like Officiouſneſs he ſent them Rules for Government in a Book of Canons, and over and above ſet up *an high* † *Commiſſion Court* among them; having experienc'd the good Effects of it in *England*. One particular in the Management of theſe Canons is odd enough. Tho' they refer'd to the Liturgy, and eſtabliſh'd it, yet in ſo much haſte were they to bleſs their Neighbours with theſe wiſe Laws; that they were publiſh'd (about a Year ſays my Lord *Clarendon*) before the Liturgy was ſeen or heard; which made the Caſe ſomewhat like that of the Miniſters in *England*, at the time of the *Bartholomew Act*; which oblig'd them on Penalty of being Silenc'd, to declare their unfeign'd Aſſent and Conſent to the Book of Common Prayer, ſome Lord's Days before *Bartholomew*, when moſt of 'em neither had *nor poſſibly*

† The late Biſhop of *Sarum*, giving ſome Account of this, thus introduces it; as if all Things, ſays he, were conſpiring to carry on their Ruin; the Biſhops procured Warrants from the King to ſet up Commiſſions in their ſeveral Dioceſes, in which they themſelves, with other Aſſeſſors, all of their own Nomination, might puniſh Offenders. (*Memoirs* of *Hamilton*.)

could

could ſee it; it not being publiſh'd 'till the Eve of that Day, or thereabouts.

Nor was the Matter of theſe Injunctions very acceptable to the *Scots*. One of them requires, That no Clergy-Man ſhall conceive Prayers Extempore, but be bound to pray only by the Forms us'd in the Liturgy (*i. e.* of the Liturgy *that ſhould be*, for as *yet* it was not); and ſuppoſing the Canons immediately in Force, Mr. *Withers*'s Inference muſt be good, that this was in effect the renewing the Decree of the *Perſian Monarch*; That no Man ſhould offer any Petition to the God of Heaven for ſo long a time, (*i.e.*) from the 23d. of *May*, 1635. when the Canons were eſtabliſh'd by the King's Authority, to *October* 20, 1636. (or near it) when the Liturgy receiv'd its Sanction. They had many other Invidious things in them; ſuch as a Declaration of the unlimitted Power, and full perſonal Supremacy of their Kings: That all Biſhops and Clergy-Men ſhould bequeath ſomething to the Church: That no Presbyter ſhould reveal any thing receiv'd in Confeſſion; and other Proviſo's very New and Odious to the common People; becauſe they would not underſtand them, ſays Dr. *Kennet*; (but I think one might as well ſay could not).

IT was hinted what Reception that Service-Book met with, when it firſt appear'd; and tho' the King ſeem'd reſolv'd to carry his Point, and therefore ſent another peremptory Command for the reading of it; it was without Succeſs. Petitions were preſented againſt the Liturgy and Canons, one in the Name of Men, Women and Children, and even the Servants: Others in the Name of divers Noble-men, Gentlemen, Miniſters and Burgeſſes, which were follow'd with Proteſtations, and what they call'd the

Compleat History of *England*, Vol III. p. 88.

Tables, which were distinct Committees, who were to consider what was to be propounded at the *General Table*, that consisted of several Commissioners Chosen from the four *Principal Tables*.

The *Scotch* Covenant, in Defence of their Religion and Liberties.

And here the *Covenant* was made 1638. in Defence of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, Subscrib'd by Noble Men, Barons, Burgesses, Ministers and Commons; and not finding Satisfaction in the Kings Concessions, after some Overtures made; they flee to Arms, and raise Forces, which they put under the Command of General *Lesley*; and this was the blessed Fruits of *Laud*'s Counsels, to this sad Extremity did he bring Things.

War breaks out between the King and *Scots*.

THE *King* cries out of this Treason, declares all such as were concern'd Rebels; and sends an Army against them, Commanded by the Earl of *Arundel*. And whereas the King wanted the Assistance of his Parliament in this Exigency; he makes use of his Prerogative, and calls upon the Clergy to put too their helping Hand, which they did, some Dioceses raising 1300 *l.* some 1000 *l.* others 900 *l.* Nor do the Papists refuse to Contribute to maintain the War against the *Scotch* Covenanters; being excited thereto by the Queen's Letter to them: And well they might, for nothing could promise fairer for their Interest, than these unnatural Quarrels between the King and his Subjects.

THE following Confusions and Miseries of the Nation, in the whole Series and Progress of them, till the *Fall of King Charles*, can't here be related at large; tho' I shall not wholly pass them over, but touch upon a few Particulars that had a chief influence upon the unhappy Civil War, and the Calamities of the Nation at that Time.

THO'

THO' both the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Arm'd, neither Side ſeem'd very keen for Action; ſo that a *Pacification* was eaſily concluded upon Certain Articles, mutually Sign'd, *June* 18, 1639. But this doth not laſt long, both Sides complain of Breach of Articles; and the *King* being highly diſguſted with the *Scots*, commands the *Pacification* to be burnt, and reſolves upon a New War, for reducing the Rebels; and the better to carry it on, calls a Parliament, a Thing almoſt forgot in the Nation, it having been diſcontinued for Twelve Years.

A New Parliament after 12 years vacancy of Parliament

THE *Parliament* meets *April* 30, 1640. when Sir *John Finch*, Lord Keeper, after the King had ſpoken a few Words, delivers himſelf in the following Terms: 'His Majeſty's Kingly Re- 'ſolutions are ſeated in the Ark of his Sacred 'Breaſt, and it were Preſumption of too high a 'Nature for any *Uzza* uncall'd to touch it: Yet 'his Majeſty is now pleas'd to lay aſide the ſhi- 'ning Beams of Majeſty, as *Phœbus* did to *Pha- 'eton*, that the Diſtance between Soveraignty 'and Subjection, ſhould not bar you of filial 'Freedom of Acceſs to his Perſon and Counſels; 'only let us beware, how with the Son of *Cly- 'mene*, we aim not at the guiding the Chariot, 'as if it were the only Teſtimony of fatherly 'Affection: And let us ever remember, that 'tho' the King ſometimes lays by the Beams 'and Rays of his Majeſty, he never lays by 'Majeſty it ſelf.' The Senſe of this peculiar Oratory, ſays Dr. *Kennet*, was to this effect, That his Majeſty was reſolv'd to reduce his Diſaffected Subjects in *Scotland*, that he would by no means admit their Mediation; but before they entred on any Debates, he expected their immediate Aid, and afterwards would give them

time to consider of any just Grievances to be heard and redress'd.

BUT these Gentlemen came together with too great a Sense of the Nations Danger, and the Oppressions they had groan'd under, to be silent on the Head of Grievances; or to suffer any thing to be prefer'd to the main End they were chosen for, which was, *As true Patriots, to stand up for the Liberties of their Country, and to Rescue it out of its languishing Condition*: And besides the greatest part of the Lords and Commons (as Dr. *Wellwood*) observes) were but little inclin'd to a War of Arch-Bishop *Laud*'s kindling, most of them being for healing Methods: So that the *King* being disappointed, dissolv'd this Parliament with a great deal of Anger and Resentment after they had sat about a Month, which Dr. *Kennet* calls a false and fatal Step; and we find it censur'd by my Lord * *Clarendon* with a Freedom, that would scarce have been born in another.

Parliament Dissolved in a Month

WHEN a War was determin'd against the *Scots*, for the Supply of which this Parliament was call'd, a Vote was pass'd at the Council-

* "There could not, says he, a greater Damp have seized upon the Spirit of the Nation, than this Dissolution caused; and Men had much of the Misery in View, which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate Men would ever meet together in that Place; or fewer who brought ill Purposes with them; nor could any Man imagine what Offence they had given that put the King upon that Resolution." No question this made the next Parliament more stiff, and afraid to trust the King when he became more Compliant. That which aggravated this Matter, and would be remembred, was, that the Day after the Dissolution of the Parliament, three of the Members were called before the Council for some Speeches in Parliament, and not giving Satisfaction committed to Prison; and besides, after the King had dissolved the Parliament, he left the Convocation sitting (a thing without Precedent) who make Canons, grant Subsidies, and frame an Oath (of which before) never to alter the Government of the Church by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, &c. and *Goodman*, Bishop of *Glocester* was suspended for refusing the Oath.

Board

Board (as *Laud* owns in his Diary) to assist the King in extraordinary Ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish and refuse: Accordingly they have recourse to these *Extraordinary Ways*, to *Loans*, *Benevolences*, and other Shifts of that kind: Several Aldermen of the City of *London* were sent for to the Council-Table, to give in the Names of such Citizens as were able to lend the *King* Money; which some of them refusing to do, were imprison'd for their Obstinacy; as Sir *Nicholas Raynton*, Alderman *Somes*, Alderman *Geere*, Alderman *Atkins*: However some thro' Force, and others out of Affection, so far contributed to the King's Necessities, that he thought himself able to support the War which was now begun. Money raised without Parliament

THE *Scots* March into *England* with an Army of above twenty Thousand (being encourag'd hereto by a forg'd Letter that had the Hands of many of the Nobility of *England* to it, as *Wellwood* tells us). The King's Forces dispute the Passage of the *Tine* with them at *Newburn*, four miles off *Newcastle*, but presently retire; and the *Scots* take *Newcastle* and *Durham*, and receive Contributions to the Value of Eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds a Day.

IN the mean time the King is at *York*, where, to use the Words of Dr. *Wellwood*, "He found himself environ'd with perplexing Difficulties on all Hands; the Nobility and Gentry that attended him, express'd on all Occasions their Dislike of the Cause and the War they were engag'd in. The *Scots* stood firm to their Ground, being flush'd with Success; and the King was follow'd from the South with Petitions from the City of *London*, from several Counties, and from a considerable Number of Lords; desiring him to call a Parliament, as

'the

'the only effectual Means to quiet the Minds
The great Council of Peers at *York*.
'of the People and compose the present Wars
'without Blood-shed. To extricate himself out
'of this Labyrinth, King *Charles* summon'd the
'Great Council of Peers to meet at *York*, to con-
'sult what was fit to be done in this Juncture;
'who advis'd him unanimously to enter into
'Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*; and to Sum-
'mon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*; with
A New Parliament
'both which Advices the King comply'd, and
'immediately issued out Writs for a Parliament
'to sit down in *November* 1640. and adjourn'd
'the Treaty with the *Scots* to *London*. My
'Author goes on.

'No Age ever produc'd greater Men than
'those that sat in this Parliament; they had
'sufficient Abilities to render their King and
'their Country Happy, if *England* had not
'been thro' the Chain of concurring Accidents
'ripened for Destruction.

ON Saturday *November* 7, a Scene of Grie-
vances, under which the Nation had long groan'd,
was laid open, and all Topicks made use of to
paint them out in the liveliest Colours. 'Tra-
'gical Petitions were prefer'd, says Dr. *Kennet*,
'to the House of Commons in behalf of the
'Chief Sufferers *Pryn*, *Bastwick*, *Burton*, *Lilburn*,
Hist. 17.
'*Leighton*, &c. then the *Particular Grievances* of
'the several Countries were presented, and ma-
'ny warm Speeches made upon the general
'Grievances of the Nation; the infringement
'of the Privileges of Parliament; of the Li-
'berties of the Subject, Innovations in Religion,
'all which were enlarg'd upon with severe Re-
'flections upon Evil Counsellors.

NO

NOR were these the Complaints of a few, or of such as were in the least suspected of Enmity to the Government, either in Church or State. 'Tis undoubtedly true which *Wellwood* observes, That they were the great Patriots that concur'd at first to make Enquiry into the Grievances of this Reign. Sir *Edward Hide*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Capel*, Mr. *Grimstone*, who was Chosen Speaker of that House of Commons, that brought in King *Charles* II. and was Master of the Rolls; Mr. *Hollis*, since Lord *Hollis*; all which suffer'd afterwards on the King's Side; and in general, those that *took the King's Part* in the Succeeding War, were the Men that appear'd *with the greatest Zeal for the Redress of Grievances*, and made the sharpest Speeches upon those Subjects: The Intentions of these Gentlemen were certainly Noble and Just, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People; but the Fate of *England* urg'd on its own Ruin Step by Step, till an open Rupture between the *King and Parliament* made the Gap too wide ever to be made up again.

THAT which was most Offensive to the King, and yet the House was *immoveably* resolv'd upon, was the impeaching the King's two great Favourites, *Strafford* and *Laud*. The former of these, when in the House of Commons, appear'd with as much Zeal as any of them against illegal Exactions; as Tonnage and Poundage, Ship-Money, *&c.* but was drawn off by Court-Preferments. *Pryn* it seems, who had liv'd in a long Friendship with him, told him at parting he was going to be undone; and added, remember though you leave us now, I will never leave you while

The Fall of *Strafford* & *Laud*.

Wellwood.

while your Head is on your Shoulders; and he made good what he ſaid; for he it was that firſt accus'd him of High Treaſon in the Houſe of Commons, and carry'd up the Impeachment to the Lords, and was the Chief Manager of the Bill of Attainder againſt him. The Impeachment was in theſe Terms, 'My Lords, the 'Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes now aſſem-'bled for the Commons in Parliament, have 'receiv'd Informations of divers Traiterous De-'ſigns and Practices of a great Peer of this 'Houſe; and by Virtue of a Command from 'them, I do here in the Name of the Commons 'now aſſembled in Parliament, and in the Name 'of all the Commons of *England*, accuſe *Thomas* 'Earl of *Strafford* of High Treaſon; and they 'have commanded me further, to deſire your 'Lordſhips that he may be ſequeſtred from Par-'liament, and forthwith committed to Priſon; 'and they will in a very few Days reſort to 'your Lordſhips with the particular Grounds 'and Reaſons of their Accuſation." Upon which the Earl was committed to the Cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod.

SOON after the like Charge was drawn up againſt *Laud*, and both the one and the other were Executed. The King endeavours to ſave *Strafford*, and with great Difficulty was prevail'd with to Sign the Warrant for his Death, tho' at the ſame time in his Speech to the Parliament in his behalf, he own'd he did not think the Lord *Strafford* fit hereafter to Serve him, or the Common-Wealth, in any Place of Truſt, *not ſo much as* that of *a Conſtable*, and the Ld. *Digby* that was againſt his Sentence, yet declar'd a great Abhorrence of his Miſdemeanours. 'The Name 'of *Strafford*, ſays he, is a Name of Hatred in 'the preſent Age by his Practices, and fit to be

'made

'made a Terror to future Ages by his Puniſh-
'ment. I believe him to be the moſt dange-
'rous Miniſter, and the moſt unſupportable to
'free Subjects that can be Characteriz'd, and
'his Practices as Tyrannical as any Subject ever
'ventur'd upon. And many Particulars agreea-
ble to this Charge of the Lord *Digby*'s, were
objected againſt him at his Trial; and that
both relating to his Behaviour in *Ireland*, and in
the *North*; as his Oppreſſing the Subjects, and
and playing the Tyrant among them; encoura-
ging Papiſts, and endeavouring to ſubvert the
Government; but that which had the chief In-
fluence on his Condemation, was his Advice to
King *Charles*, Sworn againſt him by Secretary
Vane, (*viz.*) to bring over an Army from *Ire-
land* to ſubdue the Nation (meaning, as was al-
ledg'd, *England*).

THE Biſhop was not brought to his Tryal
till ſome years after, when he was Condemn'd
by an Ordinance of both Houſes, and Executed
January 10, 1644. He had been Voted by the
Houſe of Commons a Traytor before, and tho'
now the Lords found ſome Difficulty in admit-
ting the Charge of Treaſon againſt him, yet his
Conduct had been ſo very Offenſive, and he was
generally look'd upon to have been ſo active †

† The Articles advanc'd againſt him were to this Pur-
poſe. That he had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the
Laws of the Kingdom, and introduce an Arbitrary Tyranni-
al Government; to which Purpoſe had procured and en-
ouraged the printing of ſuch Books, as defended and
leaded for an *Abſolute and Unlimited Power in the King*.
That he not only interrupted Juſtice by Letters, Meſſages,
Threats, *&c.* but ſold it by Colour of his Eccleſiaſtical Ju-
iſdiction. That he cauſed Canons to be compoſed and
ubliſhed, containing many things contrary to the Statutes of this Realm,
nd that without Authority; that he traiterouſly aſſumed to himſelf a
apal and tyrannical Power, both in Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Matters,
hat he endeavoured to ſet up Popiſh Superſtition aud Idolatry; that he

Articles againſt Laud.

Ruſhworth; Vol. II. Part II. *p.* 136, *&c.*

an

an Inſtrument in all the Miſchief that befel the Nation, that the Commons reſolve not to ſpare him: And here I may again obſerve with Dr. *Wellwood*, that none were more ſevere upon him than thoſe that afterwards took the King's Part againſt the Parliament, and had a chief Hand in his Son's Reſtoration. *Grimſtone*, a Zealous Royaliſt, call'd *him a Viper near His Majeſty's Perſon, to diſtil Poiſon into his Sacred Ears; the great and common Enemy of all Goodneſs and good Men.*

THIS Parliament having ſecur'd themſelves from an haſty Diſſolution, were reſolv'd to go through Stitch with their Work, and to have all their Grievances at laſt effectually redreſs'd; and indeed the King ſeem'd ſo much ſoftned, and in ſo good a Humour, that they had a fair Proſpect of Succeeding: How encouraging his Speech, *January* 25. 'I will ſays he, willingly and chear-

enjoyned many Popiſh Ceremonies, without any Warrant from Law; and cruelly perſecuted thoſe who oppoſed the ſame; that he preferred to his Majeſty's Service and to great Promotions in the Church, ſuch as were popiſhly affected; and choſe Chaplains diſaffected to the reform'd Religion; attempted a Reconciliation of the Church of *England* with *Rome*, and kept Secret Intelligence with the Pope, ſilenc'd and ſuſpended Orthodox Preachers without Cauſe; cauſed Diſcord between the Church of *England* and other Reformed Churches; ſtirred up War between his Majeſty's Two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; that he incens'd his Majeſty againſt Parliaments, and laboured to ſubvert their Rights. The Biſhop was not like to plead Guilty to this Charge; how he defended himſelf may be ſeen in the Hiſtory he left written of his Troubles. When he came to the Scaffold he behaved himſelf with great compoſure and preſence of Mind, (and 'tis known, ſo did the King's Judges); it does not appear he was then at all haunted with the Ghoſts of oppreſs'd *Puritans*, or diſturbed with Images and Remembrance of things done in the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion-Court. But to ſay nothing of other Matters it is really wonderful that a Man of his Parts ſhould place ſuch a diſproportioned Zeal in childiſh Fopperies, as to make them the great Care of his Miniſtry, to ſlit Noſes, cut off Ears, tear Families in Pieces, and ſet the Frame of Nature on Fire for the ſake of them; *But he died, and to his own Maſter ſtandeth or falleth.*

' full

fully concur with you, for the Reformation of all Abuſes, both in Church and Commonwealth; and conſequently that all Courts of Juſtice might be reform'd according to Law; for my Intention is to reduce all things to the beſt and pureſt Times, as they were in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*. Moreover, whatſoever part of my Revenue ſhall be found illegal, or heavy to my Subjects, I ſhall be willing to lay it down, truſting to their Affections. He adds, 'If ſome of the Biſhops have overſtretched their Power, and encroach'd too much upon the Temporalty, I ſhall not be unwilling theſe things be redreſs'd, and reform'd, as all other Abuſes, according to the Wiſdom of former Times: Nay further, if upon ſerious Debate you ſhall ſhew me that *Biſhops* have ſome Temporal Authority *inconvenient to the State*, and not ſo neceſſary to the Government of the Church; I ſhall not be unwilling to *deſire* them to lay it down.' He tells them, he was ready to give them Satisfaction, touching frequent Parliaments, which he confeſſes to be the beſt means of keeping a good Underſtanding between him and his People; and that he would convince them of the Deſires he had of giving them Content by the Miniſters he would have about him.

NOR did he only ſpeak for Peace, but ſeem'd willing to purſue it: Hence he begins to ſhift Hands, and imploy another ſort of Inſtruments in his Work. Sir *Robert Holbourn* is made Attorney-General, and *Oliver St. John* Sollicitor; who had both of them diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their warm Speeches againſt Ship-Money, when Council for Mr. *Hambden*. He paſſes many good Acts; as one for a Triennial Parliament, another (which it may be was over doing it) that

Vid. Rushworth, Vol. II. Part II. *p.* 1381.

that the Parliament ſhould not be prorogued, adjourned, nor diſſolved without their own Conſent: An Act for the utter aboliſhing the Star-Chamber, and high Commiſſion Courts; an Act to aboliſh the Court of the Preſident and Council in the North: An Act to reſcind the Juriſdiction of the Court of Seminaries; an Act for declaring Ship-Money and all Proceedings therein Void; an Act for aſcertaining the Bounds and Limits of the Foreſts, as they were in the 20th Year of King *James*; an Act to prevent the vexatious Proceedings, touching the Order of Knighthood. And whereas the Parliament thought it inconvenient that the Patents of the Judges ſhould be *durante Beneplacito*, he grants at their requeſt, that they ſhould hold their Places *quam diu bene ſe geſſerint*. Theſe were ſome of the Conceſſions his Majeſty made, which could not but procure Acknowledgments from the Parliament as they did, and were highly ſatisfactory to many; and yet had not their deſired Effect.

THE ſame good Temper, it ſeems, reach'd *Scotland* alſo; there having been an Act of Pacification, for ſettling the Affairs of the two Kingdoms (upon which the Armies were order'd to be disbanded); the King takes a Journey thither, and in his Speech to the Parliament, tells them the End of his Coming was to perfect what he had promiſed, and quiet the Diſtractions of the Kingdom; and this, ſays he, I mind not ſuperficially but fully to perform; for I aſſure you I can do nothing with more Cheerfulneſs, than to give my People a general Satisfaction. And Dr. *Kennet* intimates, He did not put them off with fair words; for, ſays he, whatever Acts they were pleas'd to preſent to him, concerning Church or State, the King confirm'd, and then gratify'd the Promoters of them, conferring Hono[ur]s

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. *p.* 111.

nours and Offices on his greateſt Enemies, in hopes to reconcile and retain them.

AND now, as I apprehend, Things were come to a *perfect Criſis*; Deliverance or Bondage, Proſperity or Ruin ſeem'd to hover over *Britain*, and which ſhould be our Lot; was ſoon to be determined. This was well enough expreſs'd in Mr. *Rudyard*'s Speech in this Parliament. 'His 'Majeſty, ſays he, hath clearly and freely put 'himſelf into the Hands of this Parliament; 'and I preſume there is not a Man in the Houſe 'but feels himſelf advanc'd in this high Truſt; 'but if he proſper no better in our Hands, then 'he hath done in theirs, who have hitherto had 'the handling of his Affairs, we ſhall for 'ever make our ſelves unworthy of ſo gracious 'a Confidence: I have often thought and ſaid 'it muſt be ſome great Extremity that would 'recover and rectify this State; and when that 'Extremity did come, it would be a great Ha-'zard, whether it might prove *a Remedy or* 'Ruin. We are now, Mr. Speaker, upon the '*vertical Point*, and therefore 'tis no time to 'palliate; for this will but foment and haſten 'our own undoing.' But whoſe Fault it was that the *Criſis* prov'd ſo unhappy, will not be on all hands agreed; ſuch as view things at a diſtance, are ready to think the Parliament now let ſlip their Opportunity of ſettling the Nation; and that henceforth part at leaſt of that Guilt, which was before imputed to evil Counſellors about the King, came over to the other Side. *Ruſhworth*, Prt. 2. Vol. II. *p.* 1358

BUT the Parliament thought they had ſufficient reaſon to be jealous of the *King*: They apprehended what he did was not Voluntary, but by Conſtraint; (and it may be the *Scotch* Army in the North had ſome influence in the Matter) and therefore dare not venture to truſt him. Parliament durſt not truſt the King.

IN the mean while both Sides receive Alarms, and are made to ſuſpect the worſt Deſigns one againſt another; which jealouſy, no queſtion, was very much promoted by the Intreagues of *Popiſh Emiſſaries*, who induſtriouſly blew up the Coals, and ſet themſelves to widen the Breach all they could. It unhappily fell out at this Time, whilſt the King was in *Scotland*, endeavouring to ſet things right there; that the News of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre reach'd the Parliament, in which between two and 300 Thouſand Proteſtants were murder'd in the moſt inhumane barbarous Manner. The *Rebels* pretended the *Kings* Authority for what they did: To which Purpoſe they produce a * Commiſſion with the King's Broad Seal to it, and give out that they were the Queen's Soldiers, and roſe to defend the King, and maintain his Prerogative againſt the *Puritan* Parliament of *England*. 'Tis certain they had his Majeſty's Broad Seal, how they came by it, is the Queſtion; 'tis commonly ſaid that they got it out of *Farnham-Abbey* from an old Writing, and fixt it to the Commiſſion they ſhow'd.

The *Iriſh* Maſſacre.

IT was however matter of Scandal, that, tho' the Rebellion broke out in *October*; the King did not declare them Rebels till *January* after: And it ſeems when he was urg'd to waſh off the foul Stain from himſelf, as being any way Acceſſary to ſo horrid a Fact; and to that purpoſe, was prevail'd with to put forth his Declaration againſt the Rebels; he commanded that *no more than Forty Copies* ſhou'd be Printed;

* This Commiſſion is dated from *Edinburgh October* the firſt 164[illegible] Many will think it no other than a Forgery, deſigned on purpoſe, by the Papiſts, to make the King Odious, and inflame the Difference between him and the Parliament; but the Secret of this and ſome other Things of the like Nature, muſt be left, for ought I know, to the Light of a future Judgment.

and

and that none ſhou'd be preſently Publiſhed, but be delay'd till his Majeſty's Pleaſure was further known, tho' the *Scots* were immediately proclaim'd Rebels, and the Proclamation that contain'd the Charge flies thro' both Kingdoms like Lightning.

BUT that which has ſince rais'd a jealouſy in many, and is not eaſily accounted for, without ſuppoſing a degree of Guilt in the *King*, that others will not think him capable of, is the Buſineſs of *the Marqueſs of Antrim*, Publiſh'd in Mr. *Baxter's* Life and the Abridgement, and in other Hiſtories. Paſſage of the Marqueſs of *Antrim*.

'THE *Marqueſs* who was a Noted Man among 'the *Iriſh* Rebels, having had his Eſtate Seque-'ſtred, thought fit, upon the Reſtoration of 'King *Charles* the Second, to ſue for the Reſti-'tution of it. The Duke of *Ormond* and the 'Council, judg'd againſt him, as one of the 'Rebels. Whereupon he brought his Cauſe 'over to the *King*, and affirm'd that what he 'did, was by his Father's Conſent and Authority; 'and the *King* referr'd it to ſome Members of 'the Privy Council, to examine what he had 'to ſhew; upon Examination, they found he 'had the King's Conſent or Letters of Inſtru-'ction for what he did; hereupon King *Charles* 'wrote to the Duke of *Ormond* and the 'Council, to reſtore his Eſtate, becauſe it ap-'pear'd to thoſe appointed to Examine it, *that 'what he did was by his Fathers Order or Conſent*. 'The Lord *Mazarine* and others, not being fully 'ſatisfied with this, thought fit ſo far to pro-'ſecute the matter, as that the *Marqueſs of 'Antrim*, was forced to produce in the Houſe of 'Commons, a Letter of King *Charles* the *Iſt*, by which he gave him Order for taking up Arms; which being read in the Houſe produ-ced a General Silence. The whole Account

'of it, with a great many ſurprizing particulars, 'was Publiſh'd in a Pamphlet, call'd *Murder* '*will out.*"

THIS I know has been and will be look'd upon by ſundry, as a mere Forgery, and the repeating of it Calumny: For my part, I can juſtly ſay, I had rather it was falſe, than true; and ſhou'd be ſorry that the Guilt of ſo much Cruelty, ſhou'd ever be found lying at the door of a Proteſtant Prince.

I ſhall only further obſerve here, that this Story is Confirm'd by others: The Author of a little piece Printed 1692, call'd *England's Miſeries*, ſet forth in their true Light, ſays (*p.* 170. &c.) that he found it written by his Majeſty's Command, ſign'd *Henry Bennet*, and entred at the Signet Office, *July* 13, 1663. that what the Marqueſs of *Antrim* did in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, was by Direction, from his Royal Father and Mother: Upon the Marqueſs's Petition to the King, and the Kings referring it to the conſideration of the Privy Council there, 'tis thus expreſs'd, 'Our ſaid Referees, after 'ſeveral meetings and peruſal of what hath 'been offered to 'em, by the *Marqueſs*, have 'reported unto us, that they have ſeen ſeveral 'Letters, all of them the hand Writing, of 'Our Royal Father to the ſaid *Marqueſs*, and 'ſeveral Inſtructions concerning his Treating, 'and Joyning with the *Iriſh*, in order to the '*King*'s Service, by reducing them to their 'Obedience; and by drawing ſome Forces from 'them, for the Service of *Scotland*. That be'ſides, the Letters and Orders under his Ma'jeſties hand, they have receiv'd ſufficient 'Evidence and Teſtimony, and Directions ſent 'from *Our Royal Father, and Our Royal Mother*; 'by which they are perſwaded, that whatever

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'Intelligence, Correſpondence or Actings, the 'ſaid *Marqueſs* had with the Confederate *Iriſh* 'Catholicks, *was allow'd by the ſaid Letters*, 'Inſtructions, *&c.* that it manifeſtly appears to 'them, that the King our Father, was well 'pleas'd with what the *Marqueſs* did, after he 'had done it, and approv'd the ſame."

AS I do not pretend to know the Author of this Relation, ſo neither will I vouch for it; if it be true, there's leſs Reaſon to queſtion the Commiſſion the Rebels produc'd under the broad Seal: However, whether the King abetted this Villany or not, 'tis certain the Fact ſo much rais'd the Fears of the Nation, and the dread of the *Papiſts*; that 'twas thought Requiſite that the Parliament, (the King being abſent in *Scotland*) ſhou'd put the Nation into a poſture of Defence, and 'tis paſt doubt, that this muſt be Reckon'd among the many things that at that time fell out ſtrangely, to haſten the Violence that the Nation was threatned with.

WHEN the *King* was returning from *Scotland*, the Parliament was buſy with their Grievances, the Innovations, and Corruptions in Religion, *Iriſh* Rebellion, *&c.* and in a little time drew up the famous *Petition and Remonſtrance of the State of the Nation.* This Remonſtrance conſiſted of ſeveral Sheets; taking in all the particulars of Male-Adminiſtration ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion; which they attributed to evil Counſellors, and to a Malignant Party; it was preſented within Eight days of his Arrival; and wou'd be thought by him, we may be ſure, no very hearty *welcome home.*

Things come to Extremities between the K. and Parliament.

ANOTHER thing that haſtned the approaching Miſchief, was Intelligence the Parliament had got of ſome tampering with the Army, in the North, in Order to employ it againſt them.

Some Chief Officers ' being examined (as Sir
Baxters Life, p. 27. ' *Jacob Aſhly*, *O Neal*, and Sir *Fulk Hunks*) confeſs'd that ſome near the King, had treated ' with them, about bringing up the Army; ' which Examinations were Publiſh'd, and ſatiſ- ' fy'd many that the *King* did but watch, while ' he quieted them with Promiſes, to Maſter them ' by Force, and uſe them at his Pleaſure."

THIS among other things, ſo alarmed the Parliament, that apprehending themſelves not ſafe, they provided a Guard; which the *King* being diſpleas'd with Diſmiſs'd, and appoints a Guard of the Train'd Bands; but this the Commons thought worſe than no Guard at all; as making them look rather like Priſoners, then Legiſlators; and therefore they Refus'd the *Kings Guards*, and procured ſome of the City Regiments, which netled the *King*: And indeed nothing was now done, on either ſide, but it provok'd the other: One ſtep the *King* took at this time, that was very unadvis'd, (as the beſt of his Friends thought it, and he himſelf too, when he came more calmly to conſider it:) He Accuſes Five of the leading Members of the
The King demands Five Members. Commons of High Treaſon, viz. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Mr. *Hambden* and Mr. *Stroud*; and afterwards goes in Perſon to the Houſe, attended with a Select Number, (ſome ſay 300) of Gentlemen Arm'd with Swords, Piſtols, &c. and ſetting himſelf in the Speakers Chair, calls for the Traitors, and taking Notice the Birds were flown, as he expreſs'd it, requir'd that they ſhou'd be ſent to him: And preſently after ſeizes their Papers, Seals up their Cloſets, and by Proclamation declares them Traitors: 'Tis generally ſuppos'd, if the Five Members had been in the Houſe, the King wou'd have call'd in his Guards to apprehend them, which might
hav

have begun a War between King and Parliament, *or rather a Duel*, sooner then it broke out; for no question they wou'd have oppos'd Force to Force.

THE Consequence of this Rashness in the King, was bad enough. 'Nothing, says Dr. 'Kennet, cou'd have been more prejudicial to 'his Interest and Honour, than this Imprudent 'Action; which, if it had succeeded, wou'd have 'serv'd no purpose, but that of blackening the 'King, for breaking the ordinary course of *Law* and 'Justice; and being disappointed, was the more 'popular Suggestion to Self-Defence, and open 'War." They immediately pass a Vote, that this was a great Breach of Priviledge; a great Scandal to the *King* and his Government, manifestly tending to the subversion of the Peace; and an Injury and Dishonour to the same Members, there being no legal Charge or Accusation, against 'em; and that there could be no Vindication of their Privileges, unless his Majesty wou'd discover the Names of those that advis'd him to such Illegal Proceedings. Hist. Vol. III. p. 113.

NOR was the alarm of this Confined to the House of Commons, but, extended a great way further, rais'd Mobbs with Petitions and Cries for Justice, the Noise of which was so great even about *White-Hall*, that his Majesty thought fit to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*. One particular more I can't but take notice of here, that was no small prejudice to the Kings Affair. It was hotly Reported, as what came from some that fled out of *Ireland*, in the time of the Massacre there, 'that the *Irish* Rebels shou'd say, it was 'to no purpose to fly for safety into *England*; 'for that Kingdom would be as much distressed 'as theirs; that the *King* intended to forsake his 'Parliament in *England*, and War against it; 'which when he did, they wou'd come over,

'having done their Work in *Ireland*, and help 'the King againſt the Engliſh Parliament;" Which ſuppoſe it was no more than a Stratagem of the *Papiſts*, to increaſe the People's jealouſies of the *King*, might be eaſily enough be believed on this Occaſion, and help forward the fatal Quarrel.

ALL Confidence was now utterly deſtroy'd, between King and Parliament; the *King* in the mean while ſeems to Relent; tells the Houſe by a Meſſage, he wou'd wave the Proceedings againſt the Five Members, and be as careful of their Privileges, as of his own Life or Crown; but they did not ſee fit to truſt him; unleſs he wou'd for greater Security, Truſt them with the Militia, with the Tower of *London*, and the *Navy*; which cou'd not be comply'd with: The *King* removes from place to place; and after ſome time ſpent in Petitions, Remonſtrances, Meſſages, Anſwers and Replies, all to no purpoſe, he Marches towards *Hull*; a place well ſtor'd with Ammunition and Arms; having been a great Magazine in the War, againſt the *Scots*. But the Parliament had got the Start, and had ſent Sir *John Hotham*, to take Poſſeſſion, and be Governour of it, in their Name. The King comes to the Walls of the Town, and demands entrance, which Sir *John* refus'd (upon his Knees excuſing himſelf) being Intruſted by the Parliament; for which the *King* proclaims him a Traitor, and now the Word was, *To your Tents O Iſrael*; the King ſummons the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* to him at *York*, and ſets up his Standard at *Nottingham*, on *Monday Auguſt* 22, 1642. and from henceforth Hoſtilities and open Violence on both ſides.

Kings Standard ſet up at *Nottingham*.

MY

MY Lord *Clarendon* takes Notice that Melancholy Men, obſerv'd ill preſages at this time, 'There appearing no Conflux of Men, in obedi-'ence to the *King's* Proclamation, the Train'd 'Bands the Sheriff brought, being all the Guard 'for his Majeſty's Perſon and Standard. The 'Arms and Ammunition were not yet come from '*York*, and a general ſadneſs, cover'd the whole 'Town; the Standard was blown down, the 'ſame Night it was ſet up, by a ſtrong and unruly 'Wind, and cou'd not be fix'd in a Day or Two, 'till the Tempeſt was allay'd. This, ſays he, 'was the Melancholy State of the *King's* 'Affairs, when his Standard was ſet up:" And it had been well if Omens (to both Parties) had diſcourag'd their unhappy Enterprize; but this muſt not be, *it was a Day of Vengeance*, the Sword *muſt devour and be ſatiate and made Drunk with Blood*, before it ſhou'd reſt and be ſtill, ſo that it being drawn, and having got Commiſſion, Marches thro' the Land, making dreadful havock every where; Neighbours and even Relations, (forgetting the Ties of Nature) tearing one anothers Bowels, without Relenting.

THE Progreſs and ſeveral ſteps of this unnatural War, 'till, thro' the prevalency of an Arbitrary Faction; it iſſued in Cutting off the *Kings-Head*, between Six and Seven Years after, *viz. January* 30. 1648. I can't particularly Relate, but muſt in a great Meaſure paſs over, tho' I make a Chaſm in the Hiſtory. I am ſenſible I have ſtay'd too long upon the Subject, but I thought in ſuch a Miſcellany of things, as I have touch'd upon, it might not be unacceptable to ſome to find this included.

THE

THE first Fight was at *Edge-Hill*, *October* 23, 1642. In which about Five Thousand were Slain: both Sides Challeng'd the Victory; but whoever had it, shou'd, methinks, have but a Melancholy Triumph; considering it was at the expence of their Brethrens Blood, and led on further Desolations.

THE Year after, the Parliament strengthen themselves, by a Confederacy with the *Scots*; in order to which, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, is offer'd to the Houses of Parliament; and (*October* 22.) taken by them, and *the Assembly of Divines*; upon which, the *Scots* came into *England* with an Army: This Plunges the King into New Difficulties, and occasions the calling a Parliament to meet at *Oxford*, which was an Anti-Parliament, to that at *Westminster*; the one Voting the other Rebels, and declaring all they did, null and void.

The Assembly at *Westminster.*

AND now the Longest Sword must carry it; nothing else I think cou'd well be expected but Conquest, by one side or the other, and that the Conquerors, wou'd prescribe their own Terms. The *Westminster* Parliament, resolving to Reform the Church, and indeed Change the Goverment of it, (a thing never intended at first) being oblig'd hereto by their Solemn League and Covenant. They call *an Assembly of Divines*, who met at *Westminster*, in King *Henry* the VIIth's Chappel, *July* 1. 1643. The King in the mean time, is shifting for himself as well as he can; protesting against what the others do; and being miserably worsted in almost every Battel, at last throws himself into the Arms of the *Scots*; who (not daring to break with the English Parliament, and make the English Army their Enemies) deliver him to the English, upon assurance that he shou'd be in safety and Honour:

By

By whom he is Conducted to *Holmby-Houſe*, in *Northampton-Shire*, attended by ſeveral Commiſſioners from the Parliament. 'Tis obſerv'd, that during the Kings Confinement at *Holmby*, he would neither hear the Divines Preach, that came with the Commiſſioners (Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr *Carryl*) nor Suffer them to ſay Grace; but always ſaid it himſelf, which was look'd upon ſtiff enough, conſidering the preſent poſture of his Affairs.

THE King being a Priſoner at *Holmby-Houſe*; and in the hands of the Parliament, the Army who were now for ſetting up for themſelves, caſt an Eye towards him, and deſign to make him their Prey; accordingly *Joyce* is ſent with a party of Men, who came and demanded the King; and ſhew ſo good Authority (*i.e.*) Sword in Hand, that neither his Majeſty, nor the Commiſſioners, durſt withſtand them. So that the King becomes *Joyce*'s Captive. 'Tis ſuppos'd this was done, by the Management of *Oliver Cromwel*, tho' he pretended he knew nothing of it. The Army detain'd the King among them, till at laſt they ſent him to *Hampton-Court*, and there they lodg'd him, under the Guard of Collonel *Whalley*; the Army quartering all about him. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, 'While he was here, 'theſe Hypocrites pretended Care of his Honour, 'Liberty, Safety, and Conſcience. They blam'd 'the Auſterity of the Parliament; who had 'deny'd him the attendance of his own 'Chaplains. They blam'd the Incivility of 'the Parliament, and Presbyterians; granted 'Liberty to his Friends and Chaplains to vi'ſit him: And when the Parliament offer the 'King propoſitions of Concord; the Army offer 'him Propoſals of their own; which the King 'lik'd better."

The King made Priſoner by the Army.

Life, p. 60.

AND

AND now the Parliament and Army fall together by the Ears. The Parliament attempts to disband the Army; but inſtead thereof the Parliament is in danger of being diſſolv'd by them; upon which they (the Parliament) Treat with the King, *then in the Iſle of Wight*; whither he had fled for Safety; but the Army over-rules that matter, breaks off the Treaty, and at laſt Seizes the King: And to make way for their own Villanous Deſigns, *they purge the Houſe of Commons*, and violently exclude ſuch Members there, as were moſt like to withſtand them; which done, they ſhow themſelves without a Mask; ſending this Propoſal to the Houſe by *Collonel Axtel*, 'That they had for a long time ſadly 'beheld and taſted the miſerable Fruits of Coun-'ſels, divided by Faction and Perſonal Intereſt; 'That all Faithful Members muſt acquit them-'ſelves by a Proteſtation of their not concur-'ring in the late Proceedings, and muſt then 'ſpeedily and vigorouſly proceed to take order 'for the Execution of Juſtice.

The Rump Vote againſt any further *Treaty* with the King.

ON *October* 13*th*, The Commons (*i. e.*) ſuch as the Army had left; Voted they would make no further Addreſſes or Applications to the King; and ſoon after draw up an *Ordinance* for *Attaining Charles Stuart* of High Treaſon; which was ſent up to the Lords *January* 2d; and being rejected by them; the Commons paſs the Ordinance in the Name of the Commons of *England* only, and appoint a Number of Commiſſioners, which (by a known Figure) is call'd the *High Court of Juſtice*; who took upon them to Arraign and Condemn the King, and *Cut off his Head*. (*January* 30. 1648.)

I need not borrow any thing from the Fund of Oratory and Rhetorick; our Anniverſary Sermons on the 30*th* of *January*, ſupply us with, to

to aggravate this Crime, an Impartial and Naked Repreſentation of it ſhows *it bad enough.* But I can't forbear taking Notice, how much ſome of the fiercer Declaimers on that Day promote the Cauſe they deſign to expoſe (*viz.* that of Diſorder and Confuſion, and even Rebellion) whilſt they defend all the unhappy Meaſures of that Reign; *and ſcrew up the Prerogative above what the Law will bear*; thereby hanging a Weight upon the Crown which has often made it Totter; ſometimes overthrown it, and always has that Tendency. Nor is it the leaſt Abuſe of this Day, that they accuſe the Innocent, and with a Guilt not much inferior to that which made the King a Martyr, as they word it; impute the Fact to a Party that abhor it, and who can't with any Juſtice even in their Progenitors be charged with it.

Who cut off the King's Head.

BUT the Queſtion here will be, at whoſe Door muſt the Guilt of all this Miſchief lye; the Guilt of beginning and continuing the War, till 'twas brought to that Tragical Concluſion? Was it not the Presbyterians that firſt took up Arms againſt their Soveraign, and at laſt Cut off his Head?

THIS being a Subject of great Debate among us; and often either *ignorantly or wilfully* miſrepreſented, I ſhall ſpeak directly and diſtinctly to it; tho' in as few Words as poſſibly I can.

AND if we would trace things up to their Originals, I need not ſcruple to ſay, *the Spring and Riſe of all was from the Royal Family.* King *James*, as obſerv'd before, laid the Foundation in the Popiſh Match; for the ſake of which he admitted into the Land a ſwarm of Locuſts, to Plot againſt the Government, and embarraſs the Affairs of it: And what Invaſions were made upon the fundamental Rights of the Subject, thro' a great

great part of King *Charle*'s Reign, has been hinted: The King's Will was instead of Law, and the Star-Chamber and High Commission-Court instead of Parliaments: *Laud* and his Adherents had acted a Part so Arbitrary and Oppressive, that 'tis no Wonder it drove others to Extreams, and put them upon taking Measures to Curb the Power they were † convinc'd would otherwise crush and ruin them.

† 'Tis so evident as not to admit of Debate with reasonable Men, that King *Charles* broke in upon the Constitution in sundry Instances, and seem'd plainly to aim *at Arbitrary Power*, tho' 'tis like he might have used it with less Terror to his Subjects, than worse Men would have done; and had he not been withstood herein, 'tis probable there had been an End of the *English* Privileges and Government; the Monarchy had been chang'd into Absolute, our Parliaments laid aside; or rendred as insignificant as in *France*, and our Legal Rights the same as in *Sweden*, *Muscovy*, &c. i. e. *wholly at the Mercy of the Prince, and dependent on his Pleasure.*

Nor is this any Aggravation of things, but agreeable to the prevailing Sentiments of the Nation, at that time, even of some of the Loyalists themselves I had it from good hands, that two Gentlemen in *Derbyshire*, Neighbours and Intimates, happening to be on different Sides after the Civil War broke out, and being in Company together, they began according to their usual Freedom to discourse about the Grounds each of them went on in what they did. The Gentleman for the Royal Side owned, that if they (the Parliament) got the better, *they were free Men*; but says he, should We get the better of you, *We are Slaves and our Posterity for ever*; and he must be strangely Partial and prejudiced, that does not see things were tending apace to this.

NOR can it be denied, the King gave the Parliament too much Cause to suspect him in all his Treaties, and that his Confessions were but extorted from the present Straits he was in: How favourably did things work towards an Accommodation *at the Uxbridge-Treaty*, and yet all was fruftrated by the King's Mutability: It seems the King, by Importunity of the Earl of *Southampton* and others, was brought in to consent to the main of the Parliaments Propositions, and promised, when these Gentlemen took leave of him

K. *Charles* mutable, & unsteady.

him at Night, to send them away with a Warrant sign'd the next Morning from *Oxford*, where the King was, to treat with the Commissioners on the other Side at *Uxbridge*; but when they return'd to his Majesty in the Morning, they found him quite changed from what he was over Night, and the hopes of Peace quite dasht, and the King becomes inflexible; the Occasion of which was an Express from *Montross* in *Scotland*, General against the Rebels there, as they were called; it seems he had succeeded in 2 or 3 Battles, an Account of which he sends to the King in a Letter to *Oxford*, in which he expresses his Concern that his Majesty had consented to enter upon a Treaty with his Rebellious Subjects, as being a thing unworthy of a King; assuring him he was so much Master of *Scotland*, that he doubted not to be able in a few Months to March into *England* with a gallant Army to his Majesty's Assistance; concluding thus vainly: 'When I have conquer'd *from Dan to Beersheba*, 'as I doubt not I shall very quickly; I hope I 'may then have leave to say as *David*'s General 'to his Master, *Come thou, lest this Country be* '*called by my Name.*' This Letter, says *Wellwod*, from whom I borrow the Story, writ with such an Air of Assurance, by one that was thought capable of making good his Promises, and the Matter contain'd in it suiting but too well with the King's Inclinations, was unluckily deliver'd to the King, but a few Hours before he was to Sign the Warrant before-mention'd, and had as ill Effects as the worst of King *Charles*'s Enemies could have wish'd; destroying, in a moment, all the Impressions his best Friends had been making for a considerable time towards a full Settlement with his People. p. 76.

TO

TO the ſame purpoſe is the Paſſage mentioned by Mr. *Lock*; he tells us, that Sir *A. Aſhley Cowper* (afterwards Lord *Shaftsbury*) propos'd to the King at *Oxford* to put an End to the War, if his Majeſty would but aſſiſt him: He told him, the Gentlemen of Eſtates, having had two years Experience of the War, and finding it no nearer an End than 'twas at firſt, began to be weary, and would be glad to be at Home again, if they could be aſſur'd of a Redreſs of their Grievances, *&c.* He further propos'd, That his Majeſty would impower him to treat with the Parliament-Garriſons, grant them a full and general Pardon, with an Aſſurance that a general Amneſty ſhould reinſtate all Things in the ſame Poſture they were in before the War, and then a free Parliament ſhould do what more remain'd to be done for the Settlement of the Nations. His Majeſty complies, and Sir *Anthony* begins to put his Project in Execution in *Dorſetſhire*; he manages a Treaty with *Pool*, *Weymouth*, *Dorcheſter*, and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the other were to have been ſome few Days after; but Prince *Maurice* being in thoſe Parts, no ſooner heard of the Towns being ſurrender'd, but he marches directly into it, and gives the Plunder of it unto his Soldiers, which Sir *Anthony* beheld with the utmoſt Diſpleaſure, and it occaſion'd ſome hot Words between him and the Prince; but the Violence was committed, and thereupon a very hopeful Deſign was fruſtrated. Now this was *often the Manner of the King*, which ſhow'd him ſo variable, that it tempted his Enimies to think, that he did not act from a Principle in his Overtures of Peace, becauſe he acted ſo unſteadily; changing as the Poſture of his Affairs changed.

Lock's Poſthumous Works, *p.* 11.

AND

AND what can be ſaid of his † Letter to the Queen, ſo perfectly inconſiſtent with his Profeſſions and Promiſes, upon occaſion, to the Parliament, ſome of which fell into their hands at the Battel of *Naſeby*. It ſeems the Queen appeared very averſe to the *Uxbridge-Treaty*, 'Telling his Majeſty, if any thing ſevere againſt 'the Catholicks ſhould be concluded, and yet a 'Peace not be made, the King could not hope 'hereafter for any Aſſiſtance from the *Catholick* 'Princes, or from the *Iriſh*, who muſt needs 'think, that after they had done their beſt, they 'ſhould at laſt be forſaken; ſhe often entreats 'the King that he would never forſake the Bi'ſhops, the Catholicks, nor thoſe faithful Friends 'of his that had ſerved him in the Wars. The 'King promiſes her, that he would never for'ſake his Friends for a Peace, only perſwades 'her to haſten as much as ſhe can the *Aids from*

K. *Charles* ſpoke different Language in his Letters to the Queen, from what he did in Treaties with the Parliam.

† Theſe Letters were publickly read in *London*, before a great Number of Citizens, where many of both Houſes of Parliament were preſent; and Leave was given to as many as pleaſed, or knew the *King's Hand*, in Order to refute the Calumnies of thoſe that ſaid the Letters were Counterfeit, to peruſe them all; out of which a Select Number were printed by Command of the Parliament.

From the reading of theſe Letters (adds my Author) many Diſcourſes of the People aroſe, for there appeared his Tranſactions with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and with the Queen for Aſſiſtance from *France* and *Lorrain*; many good Men were ſorry that the King's Actions agreed no better with his Words; that he openly proteſted before God with horrid Imprecations; that he endeavoured nothing ſo much as the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and rooting out of Popery; and yet in the mean time he promiſed to the *Iriſh* Rebels an Abrogation of the Laws againſt them contrary to moſt expreſs Promiſes, *viz.* that he would never Abrogate the Laws againſt the Papiſts; and though he had declared he abhorred to think of bringing in Foreign Soldiers into the Kingdom, yet it now appeared he ſollicited the *French*, *Lorrain*, the *Danes* and *Iriſh* for Aſſiſtance. Several were moved, to ſee the King ſo much rul'd by the Will of his Wife; as to do every thing by her Preſcript, that Peace, War, Religion and Parliament ſhould be at her Diſpoſal. *Breviary* of *Hiſtory of Parliament*, p. 120.

'*France*; adding, that while *London* is distract-
'ed between Presbyterians and Independants,
'both may be ruin'd; and in his Letter to the
'Queen upon the News from *Montross*, of his
'Victories in *Scotland*; he tells her, she needs
'not fear his trusting the Rebels, either by going
'to *London* or disbanding the Army before a
'Peace: Adding, I esteem the Interest thou
'hast in me at a far dearer Rate, and pretend to
'have a little more Wit (at least by the Sympa-
'thy that is betwixt us) *than to put my self into*
Welwood, p. 78. '*the Reverence of Perfidious Rebels.* This and
'such like was the Language of his Letters;
how well it agreed with the Language of his
Treaties and Promises to the Parliament was
then enough consider'd.

HIS Confidence in the Papists, and drawing them into his Assistance against his Protestant Subjects must needs give great Umbrage, and must be reckon'd no question to the King, as part of his Measure of Guilt in the horrid Tragedy acted in the Nation. He sollicits the *French* King (by the Queen), the Duke of *Lorrain*, and other Catholicks to send over Forces; and which, to be sure, lookt with a worse Face, enters into Measures with the *Irish Cut-throats*: He first concludes a Cessation of Arms with them, contrary to an Act of Parliament he himself had sign'd, by which it was order'd, 'That the War against 'those bloody *Irish* Rebels, should proceed till 'it was declar'd by Parliament that *Ireland* was 'fully subdu'd; and that no Peace or any Cessa-'tion of Arms should be made with them with-'out Consent of both Houses of Parliament.' Afterwards he commanded *Ormond* to make Peace with them, and to Promise and Grant to them the free Exercise of the Popish Religion, and to assure them, that if by their Assistance he could

K. Charles enters into Measures with the Irish Rebels

could but finiſh his War in *England*, he would abrogate all thoſe Laws that were made againſt them: And the better to carry his Point with the Catholicks, the King impowers the Earl of *Glamorgan*, a Zealous Papiſt, to treat with them, and to indulge them in whatever he ſhould think needful; the King's Letter to this Purpoſe I have put in the * Margin.

SEVERAL of theſe Truſty Men that had murder'd ſome hundred thouſand Proteſtants a little before, are now not only pardon'd by the King, but receiv'd into Favour, and are to be made uſe of againſt the Proteſtants in other Parts of his Majeſty's Dominions. Accordingly the Earl of *Antrim* agrees to join *Montroſs* in *Scotland*, with ten thouſand Men, which he performed in part. Theſe and ſuch like were the *private* Tranſactions between the King and thoſe *Iriſh* Butchers, which preſently came to Light; and what the Effects would be 'tis eaſy to gueſs; it would confirm many that they formerly acted by the King's Commiſſion in the Slaughter they made; and that now they were to be employ'd

* *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. to our Truſty and Well beloved Couſin, *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, Greeting; being Confident of your Wiſdom and Fidelity, We do by theſe Letters, as if under our Great Seal, grant unto you full Power and Authority to Treat and Conclude with the Confederate Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, and to indulge to them all thoſe things which Neceſſity ſhall require; and which We cannot ſo commodiouſly do by our Lieutenant; nor our ſelf publickly own at preſent; therefore We Command that you do this Buſineſs with as much Secreſy as can be; whatſoever you ſhall think fit to be promis'd in my Name, that do I atteſt upon the Word of a King, and a Chriſtian, to grant to theſe Confederate Catholicks, who *by their Aſſiſtance have abundantly ſhewed their Zeal towards us and our Cauſe*, Given at *Oxford*, under our Royal Seal, the 12th Day of *March*, and 20th Year of Our Reign. *Breviary of Hiſtory of Parliament*, p. 107.

in the like work: 'tis no wonder if the Parliament under such Apprehensions would not part with the Militia, and that they were for making *sure Terms* with the King, before they trusted him; and that some were for more violent Measures. In the mean time, who sees not that the King brought a great deal of that Mischief upon himself that befel him?

I don't, by what I have said, pretend to cast all the Blame on one Side; many will be ready to think that when the King made so many healing Concessions to his Parliament, in the Year 1640. a little more Credit was due to him; and if by Compliance with the King they had gain'd him, it may be they might have taken him out of such hands as abus'd him and them, and tempted him so much to forget his Promises.

THE last Treaty with the King was at the *Isle of Wight*, and by whose means, and upon what Views that was frustrated, is no Secret to such as have read the History of these Matters: The King consents to most of the Parliaments Propositions, for rectifying Abuses, both in Church and State; and objected against little more than utter abolishing Episcopacy, and the alienating the Bishops, and the Dean and Chapters Land. In order to satisfy his Majesty in the Question concerning Episcopacy, some *Presbyterian Divines* were sent to debate the Mater, with some of the King's Chaplains; as Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Stephen Marshal*, Dr. *Seamen*; who managed the Controversie with Arch-Bishop *Usher*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, *&c.* Each Side thought they had the better, and the Parliament-Divines, says Mr. *Baxter*, came off with great Honour. In the Conclusion, Arch-Bishop *Usher* offer'd as an Expedient, *his Reduction of Episcopacy* to the Form of Presbytery, which the

The Dispute between Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines in the *Isle of Wight.*

the King accepted: The greateſt part of the Parliament were highly pleas'd with the King's Offers, which Mr. *Prynne* went over in a Speech of ſundry Hours long, and ſhew'd the ſatisfactorineſs of his Majeſty's Conceſſions; and that the Houſe Voted them a ſufficient Ground of a perſonal Treaty with him; but when they were for bringing up his Majeſty in Order to a Treaty, *Cromwell* and his Confidents in the Army interpoſe: They were afraid things were tending too faſt towards a Coalition; and that their Deſigns ſhould be ſpoil'd, and therefore ſent a Remonſtrance to the Army (*Nov.* 10, 1648.) requiring, 'That the King be brought to Juſtice as the 'principal Cauſe of all the Evils of the Civil 'Wars. That a Peremptory Day be ſet for 'ſummoning the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke 'of *York*; and if they refuſe to come, to declare 'them uncapable of Government and Succeſſion, 'and to ſtand exil'd as Traitors: And if they 'render'd themſelves, yet to be proceeded a-'gainſt for Satisfaction, and the Revenue of the 'Crown to be ſequeſtred.

The Army prevent the Agreement between the King and Parliament.

'THAT publick Juſtice be done againſt the 'Actors in the late Wars.

'THAT their Arrears be paid, and requeſt a 'Period may be put to this Parliament, and 'new Repreſentatives Choſen; and that no 'King ſhall be admitted for the future, but by 'Election of, and upon Truſt for the People, to 'be limitted by the Repreſentatives.

IN the mean time, 'ſays Mr. *Baxter*, *Cromwell*, '*&c.* ſent Collonel *Pride* with a Party of Sol-'diers to the Houſe, and ſet a Guard upon the 'Door; one part of the Houſe (who were for 'them) they let in, another part they diſmiſs'd 'and told them they muſt not come there; and 'the third part they impriſon'd, (the ſobereſt

' and worthieſt Members of the Houſe;) and all to ' prevent them from being true to their Oaths ' and Covenants, and Loyal to their King.' Mr. *Baxter* concludes, ' To ſo much Rebellion, Perfidiouſneſs, Perjury and Impudence, can Error, ' Selfiſhneſs and Pride of great Succeſſes tranſport ' Men of the higheſt Pretences to Religion.

The *Papiſts* have a chief hand in the King's Death.

BUT beſides this Faction, that appear'd *openly*, there was another Party as deeply concerned in the Tragedy as any, from the beginning to the end of it; I mean the *Papiſts*, who ſtood behind the Curtain; not as mere Spectators, looking on while the Miſchief was a doing, but contriving and influencing; and as Secret Springs, ſetting all the Engines at Work, that were employ'd for the Nations Deſtruction. Thus when the Difference between King and Parliament began, they endeavour all they can to inflame, and to encreaſe their Jealouſies one of another, and 'tis ſuppoſed that the moſt violent Pamphlets that were wrote on either Side, were hammer'd on their Anvil, or promoted by their Inſinuations.

WHEN the Parliament was to ſit in *March*, 1626-7, a Society was taken in *Clerkenwel*, moſt of them *Jeſuits*; and the Houſe where they were found was to be a College for that Order: Among their Papers were found, a Copy of a Letter written to their Rector at *Bruſſels*, upon the Subject of the enſuing Parliament; the Letter is at large in *Ruſhworth*.

WE hope as much (ſay they) in this Parliament as ever we feared any in Queen Elizabeth's Days. *We have planted the Soveraign Drug* Arminianiſm, *which we hope will purge the Proteſtants from their Hereſy. I can't chuſe but laugh to ſee how ſome of our own Coat have accoutred themſelves: You would*

would ſcarce know them if you ſaw them; and 'tis admirable to ſee how in Speech and Geſture they act the Puritans; *I am at this time tranſported with Joy, to ſee how happily all Inſtruments and Means, as well great as leſs, Co-operate to our Purpoſe.*

Dr. *Kennet* mentioning this Letter; ſays, the Senſe of it was only to ſhow, that the Hopes of the *Papiſts* was only in the Diviſion of Proteſtants; I may add, it alſo ſhows how diligent and well pleaſed they were to promote thoſe Diviſions.

WHEN the War broke out they diſpoſe themſelves ſome on one Side, ſome on the other; agreeable to a Maxim of the Jeſuits, *viz. To get among both Parties of contending Proteſtants, on purpoſe to ſerve their own Intereſts with both*; and we are ſufficiently inform'd that both *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, thoſe famous *French* Politicians, had their Agents in *England* and *Scotland* continually at Work during the Civil Wars, as Mr. *Pryn* relates in his *Romes Maſter-Piece*, wherein he ſhows, how the Jeſuits exaſperated the King and his Subjects one againſt another; endeavouring to perſwade his Majeſty — They were conſpiring againſt his Crown and Government, and to incenſe them againſt the King, as aiming at the Subverſion of their Laws, Liberties and Religion; that they ſtirr'd up the *Scots*, hindred all Accommodation between them; that there were fifty *Jeſuits* in *London*, who call'd themſelves, *The Congregation for the propagating the Faith*; the Pope was Head of this College, and Cardinal *Barbarino* his Subſtitute and Executor. *Cuneus* was employ'd as the *Popes Legate*, Chaplain and Almoner to Cardinal *Richlieu*. And the Narrative tells us, he had familiarity *with the King*, and ſet upon the Chief Men of the

Vol. III. p. 51.

Kingdom; and left no means unattempted, by which he might corrupt them all; it further tells us, how Inſtrumental they were to promote Severity againſt the Puritans, and ſtir them up to the ſharpeſt Reſentment, and by all to kindle the Flame that they kept burning to the laſt, till we were conſumed. All this was diſcover'd by a Papiſt upon Remorſe of Conſcience to *Andreus ab Habernfield.*

AND it ſeems when they thought things ripe for it, they conſult about taking off the King. Dr. *Du Moulin* ſays, That the Year (1647.) before the King's Death, there was a Conſult in *England* of the whole Faction of Jeſuits, about bringing the King to the Block; and that the ſame Year a Select Number of *Engliſh* Jeſuits, were ſent from their whole Party in *England*; firſt to *Paris*, then to *Rome*, with this Queſtion in Writing; 'That ſeeing the State of *England* 'was in a likely poſture to change their Govern-'ment, whether it was Lawful for the Catho-'licks to work that Change, for the advancing 'and ſecuring the Catholick Cauſe in *England*, 'by making away the King, whom there was no 'hopes of turning from his Hereſie.' * For the Proof of this he challenges the Papiſts to call him in Queſtion before our Judges. The Determination of this Queſtion at *Rome* was, that it was for the Intereſt of the Catholick Cauſe that the King ſhould die, and accordingly their Council of *Jeſuits* at *London* Voted his Death; and the ſame *Du-Moulin* tells us in another place, That when the News of that horrible Execution

* Anſwer to *Philanax* Anglicus, *p.* 56. Ed. 1679. See more, Teſtimonies to this Purpoſe in Dr. *Calamy*'s Abridgment of *Baxter*'s Life, 2d Edition, Vol. I. *p.* 58.

came

came to *Roan*, a Proteſtant Gentleman of good Credit was preſent in a great Company of Jeſuits; where after great Expreſſions of Joy, the graveſt in the Company ſpoke much after this ſort; 'The King of *England* at this Marriage 'had promiſed to re-eſtabliſh the Catholick Re-'ligion: We ſummon'd him from time to time 'to perform it, and at laſt came ſo far as to tell 'him, that if he would not do it, we ſhould be 'forc'd to take thoſe Courſes that would bring 'him to Deſtruction: We have given him Law-'ful Warning, and we have kept our Word to 'him, ſince he would not keep his Word to us, And it ſeems they accompanied the King to the Scaffold, and acted a Vile Triumph there. Mr. *Spotſwood* ſays, that riding by accidentally juſt as the Head was cut off, he eſpied the Queens Confeſſor in the Habit of a Trooper, drawing forth his Sword, and flouriſhing it over his Head in Triumph, and being challeng'd by *Spotſwood*, he confeſs'd there were forty or more Prieſts and Jeſuiſts preſent on Horſe-back beſides himſelf. *Pryn's* neceſſary Vindication, *p.* 45.

SINCE, indeed, they have endeavoured to bring themſelves off by denying the Fact; and ſuppreſſing the Evidence againſt 'em. When *Du-Moulin* Publiſh'd his Narrative, 1662. the Jeſuits about the *Queen-Mother*, at *Somerſet-Houſe*, deſired Juſtice againſt him of the *King*, by the *Queen*'s Motion; but the *Doctor* ſtood to what he had wrote; and offer'd to prove it; and after frequently challeng'd them in Print to except againſt it: And it ſeems, when the Fact was univerſally cried out of, the *Pope* (to ſave their Credit) commanded all the Papers about the Queſtion, to be Burnt: In Obedience to which Order a Gentleman in *Paris*, was demanded a Copy which he had of theſe Papers; but the Gentleman refus'd to deliver it; and afterwards

Dr. *Du Moulin.*

wards ſhow'd it to a Proteſtant, and related the whole Carriage of that Negotiation, with great Abhorrence of the Practice of the Jeſuits.

SO that 'tis paſt all Queſtion, *whoever are Guilty or not Guilty*, the Papiſts are not Innocent. Sometimes they have avow'd the thing, and Boaſted of it; and if at any time they have chang'd their Note, 'tis but what they have done in other Caſes, when Conveniency and Intereſt requir'd it.

Presbyterians vindicated from the Charge of taking off the King's Head.

BUT how come the *Presbyterians* to be left out here? Were not They the Chief Rebels, that at firſt began the War, and at laſt Imbrued their hands in Royal Blood? This we know paſſes for Currant Doctrine, on the 30*th* of *January*; and yet when 'tis impartially Examined, it will be found a mere Slander. A few Remarks will ſet this matter, in a true Light: And (I*ſt*,) let me Obſerve, that they were *Church of England-Men, that began the Quarrel* with the *King*; and firſt drew the Sword againſt him, and not *Presbyterians*. This is confeſs'd by my * *Lord Clarendon*, whom no body ſuſpects to be Partial towards the Presbyterians: He ſhows that the Nation at the long Parliament, was little inclin'd to the Papiſts, and *leſs to the Puritans*; but that there was generally a Submiſſion to the Government; and a ſingular Reverence to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; ſo the Leading Men in the Houſe of Commons, were Stanch Church-Men. The *Earl of Eſſex* himſelf, who was the Parliaments General, and whoſe very Name rais'd an Army, was *Epiſcopal*: Our Hiſtorian ſays of him, that he was rather diſpleas'd with the Perſon of the *Arch-Biſhop*, and ſome other Biſhops (which was the Common Caſe) than indevoted to the Function, and he was as much devoted as any Man, to

Church of *England* Men began the Quarrel.

* Vid. *Withers* againſt *Agate P.* 2. where 'tis proved by more Inſtances.

to the Book of Common-Prayer (obſerve a Man at the Head of an Army againſt the King, *devoted to the Common-Prayer!*) And the Admiral that Seiz'd upon the King's Ships, and imploy'd 'em, contrary to his Command, and in the Service of the Parliament, Lord *Clarendon* ſays of him, he never diſcover'd any averſion to Epiſcopacy, but profeſs'd the contrary. Sir *John Hotham*, that ſhut the Gates of *Hull* againſt the *King*, and was the *firſt* Man *proclaim'd* a Traitor by him, was, ſays this Hiſtorian, very well Affected to the Government, both in Church and State; and of *Pym*, who was a Perſon of the greateſt influence in the Houſe, he ſays, tho' he was an Enemy to the Arminians, yet he profeſſed to be very entire to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, and the ſame Account is given, of the other principal Members of the Parliament; Nay, we are told by the ſame great Author, that all thoſe who were countenanc'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, or in his Confidence, were ſuch as deſir'd no other Alteration in the Church or Government, but only of the Perſons who Acted in it. And Mr. *Baxter* ſays, that the great Officers in *Eſſex*'s Army were Conformiſts; and ſome of 'em ſo zealous for the Liturgy and Dioceſans, that they wou'd not hear a Man as a Miniſter that had not Epiſcopal Ordination: And 'tis known a Noted Clergy-Man of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Williams Arch-Biſhop of York*, accepted a Commiſſion from the Parliament, and went into their Army: Nor was he the * only

* Dr. *Gauden* was ſo far inclinable to the Parliament's Side, and oblig'd them to that degree, by a Sermon preach'd before them, from Zech. 8. 19. *Love the Truth and Peace*, that the Houſe preſented him with a large Silver Tankard, with this Inſcription, *Donum Honorarium Populi*

Epiſ-

Epiſcopal Clergy-Man, that Eſpous'd the ſame Cauſe: But I need not inſiſt upon particulars, when according to the ſame Hiſtorian, whoſe Authority I here uſe, there were not *above Two* in the Houſe of Lords, that were for the Diſſolution of Epiſcopacy; and if I remember right, he ſomewhere ſays, not above Three †

Anglicani in Parliamento Congregati Johanni Gauden, &c. Afterwards, when he found the Parliament went beyond their firſt Pretenſions, he endeavour'd to redeem his Error, ſays my * Author bending to the contrary Extreme: He adds, I'm perſwaded it was this that put him upon deſigning and finiſhing the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ (or the Pourtraiture of his Majeſty, &c.) for that Dr. *Gauden* (and not the King) wrote that Book (except the 16th and 24th Chap. which were compos'd by Biſhop *Duppa*.) The ſame Perſon affirms, from his own Knowledge, the Doctor having acquainted him with his Deſign, and ſhew'd him ſeveral Chapters while it was a doing; and, it ſeems, ask'd him his Opinion about it: He reply'd, he doubted not it would be for the King's Reputation, but he ſtuck at the Lawfulneſs of it. The ſame Author publiſhes a *Memorandum* of the Earl of *Angleſey*'s (the Original of which he ſaw in *Millington*'s Hand, wrote upon a Blank Leaf of the Εἰκὼν;) as follows.

Vol. 2. — p. 140, — 160.

* *In a Pamphlet call'd a true Account of the Author of a Book entitl'd*, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. Printed 1692.

" Memorandum. *King Charles* II. *and the Duke of York* did both, in the " laſt Seſſions of Parliament, 1675. (when I ſhew'd them in the Lord's Houſe " the written Copy of this Book, wherein are ſome Corrections and Alterations, with the late King *Charles* the Firſt's own Hand) aſſure me that " this was *none of the ſaid King*'s *compiling*; but made by Dr. *Gauden*, " Biſhop of *Exeter*, which I here inſert for the undeceiving others in " this Point, by atteſting ſo much under my Hand,

ANGLESEY.

† But if theſe Men were not *Presbyterians*, how came they to aboliſh Epiſcopacy and the *Engliſh* Church-Government, and eſtabliſh Presbytery? I anſwer that *Laud* and his Creatures had made that ſort of Government ſo diſtaſteful to a conſiderable Body of the Nation, that I ſuppoſe many begun to grow weary of it, tho' they deſired rather to change the Perſons, and moderate the Epiſcopacy, than to lay it aſide. But afterwards, the *King*'s Succeſſes againſt the Parliament, forced them to call in the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*; who apprehending the beſt way to ſecure their own was to get the ſame eſtabliſh'd throughout the Iſland, inſiſt that the *Engliſh* joyn with them in the ſolemn League and Covenant, as the Condition of their uniting with them in the War.

Lord *Clarendon*, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays, that many of the greateſt Men both in the Parliament and the Army, pro-

profeſs'd Presbyterians in the Houſe of Commons; ſo that I think 'tis paſt Diſpute with Reaſonable Men, if there was any fault in oppoſing the Kings Meaſures, and taking up Arms againſt him; *it muſt be imputed to the Church of England*; for they were firſt and deepeſt in the Quarrel.

(2.) IF the *Presbyterians* joyn'd with the Parliament, and took part with them in the ſame Cauſe (as 'tis granted they did) and if they went too far in any thing; this was but the *Common Infirmities* of the times. Who will juſtify all that was ſaid and done, in the midſt of ſuch Confuſion; when the whole Nation was in ſo great a ferment? Let the Innocent Party caſt the firſt Stone: But why ſhou'd it be Improv'd againſt the Presbyterians, as if they were *the only Tranſgreſſors*, eſpecially when they were not Principals in this matter, *but Acceſſaries*.

(3.) SUPPOSE the Presbyterians of that time were as Guilty, as ſome have repreſented them, (*tho' very Falſly*) with what Juſtice do they Charge it upon their Poſterity, or thoſe that ſucceed them in the ſame Profeſſion, and under the ſame Denomination? have they by any Publick Declaration approv'd what is Imputed to their Fathers (*viz.* the Murdering the King)?

had no mind to alter the Government of the Church; but the *Scots* Propoſals (*viz* the taking the Covenant) being ſent up in the *time of the greateſt Conſternation* (*viz.* when they were afraid of being conquer'd by the King's Forces, and made Slaves) they comply'd with 'em, as the only Terms on which Aſſiſtance could be had. So that they were Church-Men *that firſt withſtood and drew their Sword againſt the King*, who had no Inclination to change Church Government, but many things concurred to the doing it. *Laud* and ſome others had really made their Government Oppreſſive. The Presbyterians were joyned with them, and they were at laſt forced to take in the *Scots* upon Terms mentioned; and hence Biſhops and Liturgy came to be caſt out.

Vid. *Withers* againſt *Agate* *Part* II. *p.* 40.

BUT

BUT 'tis pretended they are of the ſame Principals. I know not but they may in the main, *i. e.* they believe if any flatter Kings into an opinion of their own Abſoluteneſs, and draw them to Rule Arbitrarily, neglecting the Laws of the Land, that ſuch are Enemies to the Nation and ought to be proceeded againſt accordingly; and that if there be no poſſible way of ſecuring their Laws, Liberties and Religion againſt ſuch as Illegally Invade them, and wou'd ſubvert the very Foundations, *'tis Lawful and a Duty to defend them:* This is the Principle the Church of *England* had at that time, and exerted at the happy Revolution, or we had been Bonds-Men and and Slaves without Remedy: But if they mean by *the ſame Principles*, the Principles of thoſe that Cut off the King's Head, Principles Levell'd at the Ruin of the King's Perſon, and the Deſtruction of the Monarchy; and that are inconſiſtent therewith; if the Presbyterians *then* had any ſuch, I dare be bold to ſay *their Succeſſors Renounce them*, as they do the extravagant Principles of thoſe that make no difference, between *Kings and Tyrants*; and by their fulſome Flatteries, Preach good Kings into Tyrants, to the Ruin of themſelves and their Subjects.

BUT (4.) There's no need to make any Apology for the *Presbyterians* in this matter. They did not begin the War, tho' they joyn'd in it (ſome of them) as what they thought neceſſary and unavoidable; nor did they Cut off the Kings Head, or concur to it; it was done very much by *the Influence of the Papiſts*, and immediately *by a* † *Faction in the*

† The Act for keeping the 30th of *January* obſerves, they did firſt ſeduce *ſome Part of the then Army* into a Compliance; did ſeize upon the Kings Perſon, ſeized upon the Houſe of Commons, Seclude and Impriſon *Army*,

Army, without consent of the Lords, and after they had excluded a considerable Number of the Commons: The Presbyterians in the mean time, with no little Hazard to themselves, *remonstrating against* it before it was done, and *protesting against it afterwards*; and this being what some don't know, and others *will not*, at least must forget on a Certain Day of the Year, or the Jest is spoil'd; I shall represent the Matter of Fact as it was.

Presbyterians protest against the Death of the King.

IN *October* 1648, the *General and the Army* sent to several of the City Ministers to meet the Officers of the Army in their Consultations about Matters of Religion; some of them, as Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Ash*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, &c. attended them and manifested a Dislike of their Actions, and afterwards above forty of the City Ministers, sent a Letter to the General, testifying their concurrence with their Brethren aforesaid, freely declaring against their seizing and imprisoning the Person of the King: And during the King's Trial, the Commissioners of *Scotland* entred their Protestation, how much they did abominate so horrid a Design against the King's Person: and when 'twas over, a Proclamation from the Privy Council of *Scotland* declar'd that the late King was *contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of that Kingdom*, remov'd by Violent Death; and when the Presbyterians about *London*, saw what the Army was driving at, they publish'd their great dislike of the thing, and in the most Solemn manner, when it might have cost them dear. Their Paper was call'd, *A serious and faithful Representation of*

ne Members, force out others; and there being left *but a small Remnant* of the whole, did seek to shelter themselves by this weak Pretence, der the Name and Authority of a Parliament.

the

the Judgment of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, within the Province of London, *in a Letter to the General and Council of War*, January 18, 1648. *deliver'd by ſome of the Subſcribers*; after a fit Introduction they proceed thus.

'TO this Vindication we are compell'd at 'this time, becauſe there were many who very 'confidently (*yet moſt unjuſtly*) charge us, to have 'been formerly Inſtrumental toward the taking 'away the Life of the King; and becauſe alſo there 'are others, who in their ſcurrilous Paſquils, and 'Libels (as well as with their virulent Tongues) 'repreſent us to the World, as a Bloody Seditious Sect, and traiterous Obſtructers of what 'all the godly People of the Kingdom do earneſtly deſire for the eſtabliſhing Religion and 'Peace, in that *we ſtick at the Execution of the 'King*, while yet we are (as they falſly affirm) 'content to have him Convicted and Condemn'd, 'all which we muſt and do from our Hearts Diſdain, before the whole World; for when we 'did firſt engage with the Parliament, which 'we did not till call'd thereunto; we did it with 'Loyal Hearts and Affections towards the King 'and his Poſterity, not intending the leaſt hurt 'to his Perſon, but to ſtop his Party from doing further hurt to the Kingdom, not to bring 'his Majeſty to Juſtice, as ſome now ſpeak, but 'to put him into a better Capacity to do Juſtice 'to remove the Wicked from before him, that 'his Throne might be eſtabliſh'd in Righteouſneſs; not to dethrone and deſtroy him, which 'we fear is the ready way to the Deſtruction of 'all his Kingdoms. That which put any of us 'on, at firſt, to appear for the Parliament, was 'the Propoſitions and Orders of the Lords and 'Commons in Parliament (*June* 10, 1642.) for

'bring

bringing in of Money and Plate, &c. wherein they assur'd us, that whatsoever should be brought in thereupon, should be employ'd upon no other Occasion, than to maintain the Protestant Religion, the King's Authority, and his Person in his Royal Dignity; the free Course of Justice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, against any Force that shall oppose them.

'AS for the present Actings at *Westminster*, since the time that so many of the Members were by force secluded, divers imprison'd, and others thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons, (and there being not that Conjunction of the two Houses as heretofore) *we are wholy unsatisfied therein*, because we conceive them to be so far from being warranted by sufficient Authority, as that in our Apprehensions they tend to an actual Alteration, if not Subversion of that which the honourable House of Commons, in their Declaration of *April* 17, 1646. have taught us to call the *Fundamental Constitution* and *Government* of this Kingdom; which they therein assure us (if we understand them) they would *never* alter: Yea we hold ourselves bound in Duty to *God*, *Religion*, the *King*, *Parliament* and *Kingdom*, to profess before God, Angels and Men, *That we verily believe that which is so much feared to be now in Agitation, the taking away the Life of the King in the present way of Trial, is contrary to the Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion (never yet stained with the least Drop of the Blood of a King) the Fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom; as also to the Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of*

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bringing in of Money and Plate, &c. wherein they aſſur'd us, that whatſoever ſhould be brought in thereupon, ſhould be employ'd upon no other Occaſion, than to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Authority, and his Perſon in his Royal Dignity; the free Courſe of Juſtice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, againſt any Force that ſhall oppoſe them.

'AS for the preſent Actings at *Weſtminſter*, ſince the time that ſo many of the Members were by force ſecluded, divers impriſon'd, and others thereupon withdrew from the Houſe of Commons, (and there being not that Conjunction of the two Houſes as heretofore) *we are wholy unſatisfied therein*, becauſe we conceive them to be ſo far from being warranted by ſufficient Authority, as that in our Apprehenſions they tend to an actual Alteration, if not Subverſion of that which the honourable Houſe of Commons, in their Declaration of *April* 17, 1646. have taught us to call the *Fundamental Conſtitution* and *Government* of this Kingdom; which they therein aſſure us (if we underſtand them) they would *never* alter: Yea we hold ourſelves bound in Duty to *God*, *Religion*, the *King*, *Parliament* and *Kingdom*, to profeſs before God, Angels and Men, *That we verily believe that which is ſo much feared to be now in Agitation, the taking away the Life of the King in the preſent way of Trial, is contrary to the Word of God, the Principles of the Proteſtant Religion (never yet ſtained with the leaſt Drop of the Blood of a King) the Fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom; as alſo to the Oath of Allegiance, the Proteſtation of*

'May 5, 1643 *and the Solemn League and Cove-*
'*nant*, from all, or any of which Engagements,
'we know not any Power on Earth able to ab-
'ſolve us or others; therefore according to our
'Covenant we do, in the Name of the *Great*
'*God*, to whom all muſt give a ſtrict Account,
'warn and exhort all who either more immedi-
'ately belong to our reſpective Charges or any
'way depend on our Miniſtry, or to whom
'we have adminiſtred the ſame Covenant, (that
'we may not by our Silence ſuffer them to run
'into that provoking Sin of Perjury) to keep
'cloſe to the ways of God, and the Rules of
'Religion, the Laws, and their Vows, in their
'conſtant maintaining the true reform'd Religi-
'on, the fundamental Conſtitution and Govern-
'ment of this Kingdom; as alſo in preſerving
'the Privileges of both Houſes of Parliament,
'and the Union between the two Nations of
'*England* and *Scotland*; to Mourn bitterly for
'their own Sins, the Sins of the City, Army,
'People and Kingdom, and the Miſcarriages of
'the King himſelf (which we cannot but ac-
'knowledge to be many and great) in his Go-
'vernment that have coſt the Kingdoms ſo dear,
'and caſt him down from his Excellency into
'a horrid Pit of Miſery, almoſt beyond Exam-
'ple; and to pray that God would give him
'effectual Repentance, and ſanctify that bitter
'Cup of Divine Diſpleaſure, that Divine Provi-
'dence hath put into his Hand, and alſo that
'God would reſtrain the Violence of Men, that
'they may not dare to draw upon themſelves
'and the Kingdom the Blood of their Soveraign,
'*&c.*

THIS

THIS was ſubſcrib'd by about *Sixty Miniſters, and deliver'd as aforeſaid.

*Corn. Burgeſs, D. D.
William Gouge, D. D.
Edward Stanton, D. D.
Thomas Temple, D. D.
George Walker.
Edmond Calamy.
Jer. Whitaker.
Dan. Cawdrey.
William Spurſtow, D. D.
Laz. Seaman, D. D.
Simon Aſhe.
Tho. Caſe.
Nic. Profit.
Tho. Thorowgood.
Edw. Corbet.
Hen. Rowborough.
John Downham.
Arth. Jackſon.
Charles Offſpring.
Sam. Clark.
John Wall.
Fran. Roberts.
Sam. Bolton.
Mat. Haviland.
John Sheffield.
William Harriſon.
William Jenkin.
John Viner.
Elidad Blackwell.
John Croſs.
John Fuller.
William Taylor.
Peter Witham.
Francis Peck.
Chriſtopher Love.
John Wallis, D. D.
Tho. Manton, D. D.
Tho. Gouge.
William Blackmore.
Robert Mercer.
Ra. Robinſon.
John Glaſscock.
Tho. Whately.
Jonath Lloyd.
Jon. Wells.
Ben. Needler.
Nath. Stainforth.
Steph. Watkins.
Jac. Tice.
Jon. Stileman.
Joſias Bull.
John Devereux.
Paul Ruſſel.
Jam. Nalton.
Tho. Cawton.
Tho. Watſon.
William Wickins.
Joſh. Kirby.
Arth. Barham.

NOR did *these Murderers* of the King only proteſt againſt his Death, *but mov'd for delivering him by Force* ont of his Enemies Hands; as Mr. *Baxter* tells us, whoſe Words are, 'The 'Lord General *Fairfax*, ſtood by all this while, 'and with great Reſentment ſaw his *Lieutenant* 'do all this by tumultuous Soldiers, trick'd and 'overpower'd by him. At the King's Death, 'he (*Fairfax*) was in wonderful Perplexities, 'and when Mr. *Calamy*, and ſome other Miniſters were ſent to him, and would have perſwaded him *to Reſcue the King*, his Troubles ſo 'confounded him that they durſt let no Man 'ſpeak to him, and *Cromwell* kept him, (as it 'was ſaid) in Praying and Conſulting till the 'Stroke was given, and then 'twas too late to 'make Reſiſtance.

Mrs *Baxters* Life, *p.* 63.

I might further add, that theſe very Men (ſo freely charg'd with *King-killing*) were *as zealous and active as any in the Reſtoration of King* Charles II. as has been own'd on all Hands, and can't with any Modeſty be denied; nay ſeveral of them ſuffer'd for adhering to his Cauſe, during the Uſurpation, eight of them, (Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watſon*, *&c.*) were committed to the *Tower*, and Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Gibbons* were beheaded, for correſponding with his Friends in *Scotland*, and ſending Money for his Service: Mr. *Love* had been an Offender before, having wrote againſt the Deſigns of the prevailing Faction; and exclaim'd againſt the Sectaries for talking of the Neceſſity of taking off the King; and againſt the Army for entertaining Principles directly againſt Monarchy, which 'tis like was now remembred againſt him, as an Aggravation of his Crime; and he went to his Death with the ſame Principles, declaring that he judg'd a *mixt Monarchy*, ſuch as ours was, to be

Preſbyterians forward to reſtore K. *Charles.*

be the beſt Government in the World; and that he never was for putting the King to Death, tho' he oppos'd his Forces. He added, that he died with his Judgment, not ſatisfy'd to take the Engagement, and that he would not be lookt upon as owning the Preſent Government; and tho' all did not go as far as Mr. *Love* in oppoſing the Government that then was, yet ſeveral of the Miniſters diſlik'd it, and refus'd the Engagement; (by which they were to promiſe to be True and Faithful to the Common-wealth of *England*, as it was eſtabliſh'd, without a King and Houſe of Lords) and were turn'd out of their Places on that Account.

AND now I may appeal to all the Impartial among Mankind, *whether the Presbyterians murder'd the King*, and whether there be any Juſtice or Modeſty in the *30th of January Harangues*, which ſo freely charge them with it, and that with all the Circumſtances of Reproach imaginable; hereby proſtituting the Pulpit and poiſoning the Auditory.

I know 'tis in vain to Expoſtulate with peeviſh and unreaſonable Men; but they would do well to conſider, whether they don't by the Liberty they take on theſe Occaſions, really pervert the Deſign of this *Anniverſary* (for no body can think it was appointed for Striſe and Debate) and whether they don't *inſtead of attoning* for the Guilt of the Nation, as they ſometimes ſpeak, *greatly add to it*, and by their miſrepreſenting the *Engliſh* Government, the Meaſures of Obedience due to the Soveraign, and Slandering their Neighbours with what they abhor and are perfectly innocent of; ſow Diſcord amongſt Brethren, keep up our fatal Animoſities, and cheriſh thoſe Sparks that formerly broke out into a terrible Flame: This I ſay they ſhould calmly conſider, for whatever they deſign by

their warm Declamations, they can have no other Tendency, than to inflame and turn Men into Wolves and Tygers one towards another, and ſend Home the Auditory diſpos'd to devour thoſe whom they have ſeen at Church painted in the worſt Colours, and mark'd for Deſtruction.

BUT the Presbyterians fought againſt the King, deſtroy'd the Monarchy, and ſet up a Common-Wealth, and are by Principle Enemies to Kings and kingly Government, and only want the Opportunity to act over the ſame Tragedy.

TO call this Calumny, I grant, is no Anſwer; but I would put theſe Gentlemen in Mind that when the Church of *England* drew the Sword againſt King *Charles* I. and the Presbyterians join'd with them; it was to preſerve the Legal Monarchy, againſt ſuch ſuch as were for ſubverting it; and tho' tis true they ſubmitted to *Oliver*, it was *only as to a Conqueror*; not approving his Government. They ſtill preſerve the antient Legal Conſtitution, and contributed all they could to the Reſtoration of it; and 'tis well known before *Cromwell* had uſurp'd the Throne, the *Scotch* Presbyterians invited King *Charles* among them. and had their Bones broken at *Dumbar* for eſpouſing his Cauſe; and tho' they refus'd not to Live and Breathe under *Oliver's* Government, and to enjoy his Protection in the Service of God, which was deny'd them under *Laud* and his Faction, yet they never own'd his Title, nor took the Engagement; I mean, many of them did not, and if ſome others did, ſeveral of the † Epiſcopal Party did the ſame; and 'tis

Upon what Principles the Presbyterians ſubmitted to *Oliver*.

† As Biſhop *Sanderſon* and other leading Men of that Perſwaſion; the Biſhop not only took the Engagement, *but wrote for it*, having prepared it for their Digeſtion, by a very favourable, tho' forced Conſtruction; as by *Eſtabliſhed* they only meant *De facto*, and not *de Jure*; and by, *without a King*

Nine Caſes, p. 94.

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like upon the ſame Principles; and for the Tragedy of the King's Death that they are accus'd of; they are either Innocent of that, or 'tis *impoſſible for any to be Innocent*, whom their Enemies have a Mind to make Guilty; they utterly diſown'd it, as has been ſaid, and proteſted againſt it in the moſt ſolemn manner; ſo that ſtill to continue the Charge againſt them, with all the Clamour and Noiſe that's uſual; muſt argue either groſs Ignorance or Malice, or both; for which, no queſtion, an Account muſt be given.

I need be at no Pains to apply all this to my preſent Purpoſe; and ſhow there was at that time a great *deal of Plotting* carried on againſt the reformed Religion and Civil Liberties of the Land: 'Tis manifeſt the Nation for above twenty Years, was continually ſtrugling againſt Popery and Power. Proteſtants were ſo artfully play'd one againſt another, that they were almoſt conſum'd one of another: And in ſhort ſuch were the Convulſions the Kingdom ſuffer'd, and the Confuſions 'twas thrown into, that it ſeem'd a mighty Hazard into what Hands the Government ſhould fall; and whether the Proteſtant Faith and Worſhip, or Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry, ſhould henceforth obtain; but Providence did not give us up: *Hitherto the Lord helped us:*

and Houſe of Lords, they meant, *altho'* there were for a time no King and Houſe of Lords, ſo that their Senſe ſeemed to be this; I will be true to the Government of *England*, though at the preſent the King and Houſe of Lords are put out of the Exerciſe of their Power: Mr. *Baxter*, in the mean time, not only avoided the Covenant, and kept his People at *Kederminſter* from taking it, and the Miniſters of the Country generally from offering it to their People; but when the Engagement came out, *he both ſpoke and wrote againſt it*, and againſt that mollifying Senſe that ſome put on it, which he thought mere juggling and jeſting with Mat-

Some Remarks on *Oliver*'s Government.

AS to what ſucceeded, I am willing the Reader ſhould call it *Anarchy, Confuſion, Uſurpation, Tyranny, or what he pleaſes:* It's known the Government being thrown off its Hinges, was perpetually wavering, and never continued in the ſame State; but being modell'd and ſupported by pure Violence, and the Power of the Sword; it varied and chang'd, juſt as Succeſs follow'd the one Side or the other of the contending Uſurpers.

'TWAS by a ſtrange Mixture of Fraud and Force, that *Oliver* got himſelf poſſeſs'd of the Soveraignty, under the Title of *Lord Protector* of the Common-wealth of *England*; having ſign'd an Inſtrument as the Plan of his Government, conſiſting of twenty four Heads, which he ſwore

ters too great to be jeſted with, the obvious Senſe of the Words as well as meaning of the Impoſers being very different.

When *Oliver* had actually got Poſſeſſion, the Miniſters were in great Straits how to carry it towards him, ſome declaring they would rather periſh than ſubmit to ſuch deceitful Uſurpations. Others thought they muſt comply with the preſent Neceſſity, and the Generality of them came to this Reſolution; 'That though it was unlawful for them to conſent to 'any other Governor than the King, or to take an Engagement, or Oath 'of Allegiance to another; nor muſt they either do or approve Evil for 'a good End, nor forbear in their places ſeaſonably to reprehend it; yet 'it was not unlawful for them to ſubmit to *Uſurpers* by living quietly, 'and to make uſe of the Courts of Juſtice eſtabliſhed by Law, yea and 'to demand Protection from them; for an Uſurpers ſtepping into the 'Ruler's Place, obliges him to do all the parts of a Governors Office, 'and warranteth thoſe that are under him to demand it, and accept it 'from him; but it does not oblige them to obey or conſent to his Uſurpation, even as we demand Juſtice of a General of Rebels, 'or a Captain of Thieves." So that they agreed in this as their Duty, to keep the State of things as entire as they could, *till God was pleaſed to reſtore the King*, that he might find it a whole and not a ruined irreparable State. Mr *Baxter* practiſed according hereto (as did others) ſeaſonably condemning the Uſurpation, both by Preaching and Printing, and once took occaſion in open Conference, to declare *Cromwell* and his Adherents guilty of Treaſon, and Rebellion, aggravated with Perfidiouſneſs and Hypocriſy.

Vide *Baxter's Life Abridged*, V. I. *p.* 109. *Edit.* 2*d.*

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to in the following Terms; 'I promiſe in the 'Preſence of God, not to violate or infringe 'the Matter contain'd in the Inſtrument, but 'to obſerve and cauſe the ſame to be obſerv'd; 'and in all things to the beſt of my Underſtanding, govern the Nation *according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms thereof*; and to ſeek their 'Peace, and cauſe Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred. But this, ſays *Coke*, tho' of his own making, *Oliver* regarded no more than he did *Magna Charta*, which he call'd *Magna Farta*: *He* had indeed by this Contrivance provided ſufficiently for his own Power, obliging the Nation to maintain him an Army of 20000 Foot, and 10000 Horſe, and yet when he ſaw Occaſion, he could vary from it at Pleaſure, and trample upon it, as he did upon all the Laws of the Land, when they ſtood in his way; tho' before he took up Arms, as his Pretence was, *on purpoſe* to defend them.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd that he ſupported his Character, both at Home and Abroad, in a Manner that was really Extraordinary; made himſelf at leaſt fear'd where he was not lov'd; and in many Inſtances acted very much to the Reputation and Honour of the Kingdom. *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſays *Coke*, (a Man not at all prejudiced in his Favour) was never repleniſh'd with more learned and upright Judges than by him; nor was Juſtice either in Law or Equity, in Civil Caſes more equally diſtributed, where he was not a Party: He humbled the *Algerine*, *Tripoli*, and *Tunis*, *Pirates* by *Blake*, more than ever any before or ſince did. In ſhort his Name was terrible thro' *Europe*. 'It was hard to diſcover, ſays 'my Lord *Clarendon*, which fear'd him moſt, '*France*, *Spain*, or the *Low Countries*, where his 'Friendſhip was current at the Value he put

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'upon it; as they did all Sacrifice their Honour 'and their Intereſt to his Pleaſure, ſo there is 'nothing he could have demanded that either of 'them would have deny'd him.' Nay, ſo awful a Creature was this *Oliver*, that 'tis ſaid *Cardinal Mazarine* would change Countenance whenever he heard him mention'd; and it paſs'd into a Proverb in *France*, that *he was not ſo much afraid of the Devil as of Oliver Cromwell:* He would not allow in his League with *France* againſt *Spain*, the *French* King to call himſelf King of *France*, but *of the French*; whereas his *Highneſs* took to himſelf, not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but likewiſe of *France*; and in the Inſtrument of the Treaty, the *Protectors* Name was put before the *French* Kings.

ONE Inſtance we have of his Greatneſs, that's very remarkable; there was an Article in the Treaty between *France* and the *Protector*, that if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it ſhould immediately be deliver'd up to the *Engliſh*, and his Ambaſſador *Lockart* had Orders to take Poſſeſſion of it, accordingly; but it ſeems Orders had been given to the *French* General contrary to this Agreement, which *Cromwell* upbraided the Ambaſſador with at *Whitehall*; the *Ambaſſador* proteſted he knew nothing of the Matter, as indeed he did not; upon which *Cromwell* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, ſays, here is a Copy of the Cardinal's Order; and I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an Expreſs to let him know I am not to be impos'd upon; and that, if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of *Dunkirk* to *Lockart*, *within an Hour after it ſhall be taken*, tell him *I'll come in Perſon and demand them at the Gates of Paris*; which ſo affrighted the *French* Court, that the *Duke and Mareſchal of Crequy*, was diſpatch'd into *England*, Embaſſador Extraordinary to

Vide *Wellwood's* Memoirs.

to Compliment *Cromwell*, attended by a numerous Train of Persons of Quality; among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and a Nephew of *Mazarine*, who brought a Letter from his Uncle to the Protector, full of Expressions of Respect; assuring his Highness, that nothing but the King's Indisposition could have hindred him to have come over to *England*, that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one *of the greatest Men that ever was*, and whom next to his Master, his greatest Ambition was to serve.

TWO things notably serv'd his Designs; the Secrecy of his Counsels, and the Diligence of his Spies Abroad. 'Tis said, he seldom trusted any body in Matters of Importance, but his Secretary *Thurlo*, and not always him: Once coming into the Secretary's Office, and entering upon Business of great Consequence, he took notice that one of the Clerks, Mr. *Moreland*, afterwards Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the Room, seeming to be asleep on a Desk; but fearing he might hear their Discourse, drew a Ponyard, which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to Dispatch *Moreland* upon the Spot, if *Thurlo* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to desist; assuring him that *Moreland* had sat up two Nights together, and was now certainly asleep.

AND for his Intelligence, no expence was spar'd to procure it; particularly he knew the Affairs of *King Charles* II. *in his Exile*, so perfectly well, that nothing escap'd him; of which we have an Instance in an *English* Noble Man, that he had given leave to Travail, on Condition he should not see *Charles Stuart*; upon his Return he ask'd him, if he had punctally obey'd his Command; to which the other answer'd he had: *Cromwell* reply'd, 'tis true you did not see

him,

him, for to keep your Word with me, you agreed to *meet him in the Dark*, the Candles being put out for that End; and withal told him, the Particulars that paſt in Converſation between the King and him at their Meeting: Nay it ſeems his Intelligence reach'd to the moſt Secret Tranſactions, of moſt other Princes, with whom he had any Concern; whilſt in the mean time his own Counſels were lockt up in his own Breaſt.

HE ſhow'd a more than ordinary Zeal in the Matters of Religion; he had a glorious Form of it himſelf, and could talk like a Saint of the firſt Magnitude. Mr *Baxter* ſays of him, 'That he 'appear'd to have a Deſign of doing Good in 'the Main, and promoting the Goſpel more 'than any had done before him, *except in thoſe 'Particulars which his own Intereſt was againſt.* 'He adds, it was the principal means that he 'truſted to, after he was got into the Saddle 'for his Eſtabliſhment, *viz.* his doing Good; 'that the People might love him, or at leaſt 'be eaſie under his Government for the ſake of 'the good he did, who were againſt it, as it 'was a Uſurpation.

ONE of the moſt popular things he did, was the reforming the Miniſtry; to which purpoſe, he choſe a Society, conſiſting of Miniſters and others, who under the Name of *Triers*, examin'd all that came for Inſtitution, or Induction; and without their Approbation none were admitted: Such as could, came up to *London* to be examined; others were referr'd to Miniſters in the County where they liv'd, and with all their Faults, ſays my Author. It muſt be ſaid of theſe *Triers*, that they did a great deal of good to the Church; they ſav'd many a Congregation

Mr. *Baxter.*

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from ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers. That ſort of Miniſters that either preach'd againſt an Holy Life, or preach'd as Men that never were acquainted with it; all thoſe that us'd the Miniſtry, *but as a common Trade to live by*, and were never like to Convert a Soul; all theſe they uſually rejected, and in their ſtead admitted any that were *ſerious able Preachers*, and liv'd a godly Life, of what Opinion ſoever they were that was tolerable: And I preſume, I may ſay that the main Body of the Pariſh Miniſters at that time, were ſuch as the Nation has not enjoy'd ſince; (I mean for a ſerious Senſe of Religion, and a hearty Regard for the Intereſt of Souls, in the Diſcharge of their Office), tho' tis granted the Generality of them made no great Improvements in Learning; many of their Writings were heavy, and ſome downright Enthuſiaſtick; but few ſet themſelves to Cultivate the more recondite and ſecret Parts of Learning, which has ſince been done with much Succeſs, and to their great Honour, by many great Men of the Church of *England*. But I doubt not even in this Particular, their Caſe will admit of Apology. I doubt not but I may ſay, that ſome of their Writings, both upon learned and more Practical Subjects, were as valuable as the World has yet ſeen, and that they were not more generally ſo, may be accounted for. They were kept buſie in dreſſing the Vineyard, that Sluggards had ſuffer'd to be all grown over with Thorns, and in repairing the Deſolations that the High Commiſſion-Court, the Book of Sports, and playing at Foot-Ball on Sundays, inſtead of the Unlawful Exerciſes of Afternoon-Sermons, &c. had made; a great deal of their Time was neceſſarily taken up in Combatting thoſe ſtrange Monſters of Doctrine, rais'd up by wild Sectaries

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and Enthuſiaſticks; hence ſome Men that diſcover'd no mean Genius were unhappily diverted in their Studies and Writings; and yet what they did might be neceſſary at that time, as an Antidote againſt preſent Evils, and be found more to Account at laſt, than *Tranſlating and Writing Notes on Horace*, or putting a New Coat on a ragged Father, *&c.* and beſides it ſhould be conſider'd, that every Age has it's *peculiar* Opinions, Notions and Studies, to which Men of Learning and Capacity are drawn to attend, tho' with leſs Improvement to themſelves, and Advantage to the Church. I doubt not but there are ſeveral Queſtions, diſcuſt in this Age; as particularly about the *Validity of Baptiſm*, *Sacerdotal Powers*, *&c.* which will afterwards appear as Contemptible, as what was wrote heretofore about *Fides quæ* and *Fides quâ in juſtification*, *&c.* So that upon the whole, I ſhall ſtand to it, that the Pariſh-Clergy of that time, were ſuch generally, as would have been an Ornament and Bleſſing to any Church in the World; and if I might ſay it without Offence, I'm ſure I ſay it with a due Deference to the Learning and Piety of ſome of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, (whom I look upon to be as valuable Men as any part of the Chriſtian Church can ſhow) ſhould the preſent State of the Pariſhes of *England* in moſt places, be compar'd with what 'twas then, they would be found to differ as much *(abſit Invidia)* as *Kedar from Jeruſalem.* Notwithſtanding little Honour or Thanks belongs to *Cromwell*, who did too manifeſtly make Religion ſubſervient to his own Ambition, and Eſpouſe *the Intereſt of it* only ſo far as it might promote *his own Intereſt.*

AS for his Government it was Uſurp'd, and he might be call'd *doubly a Tyrant*, according to that

that Distinction of the Civil Law, *Tyrannus Titulo, & Tyrannus Exercitio*; he had neither Title to Government, nor did he govern by Law: As he had a main Hand in taking off the King; he lays by the House of Lords, new models that of the Commons, and in effect always chose his own Parliaments, and then uses them as he pleases. He was in short *Absolute*, nor would he suffer any Contradiction of his Power and Authority when he had a Mind to exert it: My Lord *Clarendon* gives a lively Instance of this; having laid an Extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony*, tho' a former Confident of *Olivers*, refus'd to pay his Part, and disswaded others from paying, as being against the Law and the Property of the Subject: *Cromwell* sent for him, put him in Mind of old Kindnesses. The Man however is resolute, and presumes to remember his *Highness*, how great an Enemy he had expresst himself formerly to be to such Grievances; having declar'd that all those who submitted to them, and paid Illegal Taxes, *were more to blame*, and greater Enemies to their Country, than those who had impos'd them; and that the Tyranny of Princes, could never be Grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the People: Upon which *Oliver* commits the saucy Man to Prison, sends *Mainard* to the *Tower* for pleading as Council in behalf of the Prisoner; severely reprimanded the Judges, and when they mention'd the Law and *Magna Charta*, told them with Terms of Contempt and Derision, their *Magna Carta should not Controul his Actions*; which he knew were for the Safety of the Common-wealth.

BUT I will not tire the Reader with more particulars of this Government, which I design'd to have pass'd over in a few words; shall only ob-

obſerve, that tho' the *Protector* had rendered himſelf *awful*, yet he had the Love of very few of his People; which he was ſenſible of, and therefore 'tis ſaid always wore a Coat of Mail, under his Cloths, and a private Dagger. Moſt look'd upon him no other, than a *Succeſsful Tyrant*, and hated him accordingly: *Coke* ſays, He was hated of all *Factions*, as much as of the Royaliſts, and that he had no thing to truſt to, but a Mercenary Army; and above half of theſe would have been content, to have his Throat cut. One bold Man *William Allen*, writes a Pamphlet which he call'd, *Killing no Murder*, and not only ſets his Name to it, but Addreſſes it to *Oliver* himſelf; the Deſign of which as he † profeſſes, was to perſwade ſome body to kill him, for the Good of the Common-Wealth, and to prove that it would be no Sin to do it.

BUT notwithſtanding this, and all the Attempts againſt his Life, he died in his Bed, *September* 3. 1658. The Lord *Clarendon* gives this Charactar of him, 'That he was one of 'thoſe Men, whom his very Enemies could 'not condemn without commending him, at 'at the ſame time; for he could never have 'done half that Miſchief without great Parts 'Courage, Induſtry and Judgment: that he 'attempted thoſe things, which no good

† He tells his *Highneſs*, how he will Interpret his Paper he knows not, but adds, I can with Confidence ſay, my Intention is to procure your Highneſs, that Juſtice which yet no Body does you: To your Highneſs belongs the Honour of Dying for the People, and it cannot Chuſe but be of unſpeakable Conſolation to you, in the laſt Moments of your Life, to Conſider with how much benefit to the World, you are like to leave it. 'Tis then only, My Lord, the Titles you now Uſurp will be truly ours; you will then be indeed the Deliverer of your Country, we ſhall then have hope, that other Laws ſhall take place beſides thoſe of the Sword, and that Juſtice ſhall otherwiſe be defined than the Will and Pleaſure of the ſtrongeſt. 'Tis by your Death that we hope for our Inheritances, and to haſten this great Good, is the Chief end of my writing this Paper, *&c.*

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'Man durſt have ventur'd on, and atchiev'd 'thoſe, in which none but a valiant and great 'Man could have ſucceeded. He concludes, 'that he had ſome great Qualities, which have 'cauſed the Memory of ſome Men, in all Ages 'to be Celebrated, and he will be look'd upon 'by Poſterity, as *a brave Wicked Man.*

RICHARD CROMWELL his Son ſucceeded as *Protector*; but finding the People diſcontented, and the Government Troubleſome, willingly reſign'd it: And now every one that can, is for being uppermoſt; the unhappy People are toſs'd about ſtrangely, and the Government paſſes thro' the Hands of a *Council of State*, *Committee of Safety*, *&c.* and appears in ſuch odd ſhapes, that the Nation being Heartily weary of their Confuſions, Reſolve, as one Man, to bring back the *King*, in which the *Presbyterians* concurr'd with a forward Zeal, looking upon his Reſtoration a National Mercy: But alas! they ſoon found what one of the *Scotch* Miniſters (ſent to attend him in *Holland*, Mr. *Livingſtone*) is reported to have ſaid, when they forced him on Board with his Majeſty, *that they were bringing God's heavy wrath to Britain.*

KING *CHARLES* the Second, begins his Government with many fair Promiſes, as if he was Reſolv'd to make all his Subjects Eaſie and Happy; accordingly every Party had their Eyes directed to him with no little expectation: The Presbyterians ſent over ſeveral of their Number, to wait upon him in *Holland*, Dr. *Reinolds*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Caſe*, *&c.* The King receives them with great Marks of Favour and Reſpect, and it ſeems took care ſo notably to act the part of his Grand-father, that ſome of the Miniſters thought they had got a Saint to be their King: he knew how to bewail the Sins of his Fathers Houſe, and could

K. *Charles* flatters the Presbyterians and pretends to be for Union.

talk of the Power of Godlineſs as fluently as if he had been Pupil all his Days to a *Puritan*; and to carry the Jeſt a little further, when ſettled upon the Throne, ſeveral of the *Presbyterians* were taken into the Number of his Chaplains; as Dr. *Reinolds*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Baxter*, &c. Some of 'em have the Honour to Preach before his Majeſty; Mr. *Baxter* particularly, who from *Heb.* 11. 1. made a very ſolemn Diſcourſe about the Life of Faith; and Printing the Sermon, ſtil'd himſelf, *Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty*, deſiring, I ſuppoſe, to teach King *Charles*, to live by Faith!

THESE Gentlemen had for a time free Acceſs to the King, and took all Opportunities to propoſe a Union, and to confirm his Majeſty in the good Reſolutions he had ſignify'd in his Declaration *April.* 14 1660. from *Breda*. The King receives the Motion with great Approbation, and tells 'em, "If an Agreement was "not effected between the two Parties, it "ſhould be long of themſelves and not of him; "nay, that he was reſolv'd to compaſs Union, "and that he would draw the contending Par"ties together," and therefore deſired 'em to offer ſuch Propoſals as they thought neceſſary in order to an Accommodation. The Miniſters, after ſome Conſultation among themſelves, bring in their Propoſals to his Majeſty, with their humble Addreſs, by way of Preliminary, they deſired theſe four Things. "That ſeri"ous Godlineſs might be countenanc'd; "Learned and Pious Miniſter in each Pariſh "encourag'd; That a Perſonal publick owning "the Baptiſmal Covenant might precede a "Admiſſion to the Lord's-Table; And that the "Lord's Day be ſtrictly ſanctify'd: And then upon

upon they offer'd to allow of the *True ancient Primitive Presidency* in the Church, with a due Mixture of Presbyters, in order to the avoiding the Corruption, Partiality, Tyranny, and other Evils, which are incident to the Administration of a *Single Person*: The Things which they principally blam'd in the *English* Frame, were the great Extent of the Bishops, Dioceſſes; their deputing Commiſſaries, Chancellors and Officials to act in their Stead; their aſſuming the whole Power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, and acting ſo arbitrarily in Viſitation-Articles; bringing in new Ceremonies, and ſuſpending Miniſters at their Pleaſure, And for reforming theſe Evils, they propos'd that Biſhop *Uſher*'s Reduction of Epiſcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government, receiv'd in the ancient Church, ſhould be the Ground-work of an Accommodation; and that Suffragans ſhould be choſen by the reſpective Synods; the Aſſociations be of a moderate Extent; the Miniſters be under no Oaths, or Promiſes of Obedience to their Biſhops, as being reſponſible for any Tranſgreſſion of the Law; and the Biſhops govern not by Will and Pleaſure, but according to the Rules, Canons and Conſtitutions that ſhould be ratify'd and eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament. As to the Liturgy, they own'd the Lawfulneſs of a preſcrib'd Form of Publick Worſhip; but deſir'd that ſome Pious, Learned and Moderate Divines of both ſorts might be employ'd either to compile a New Liturgy, or to reform the Old; adding ſome other various Forms in Scripture-phraſe, to be us'd at the Miniſters Choice. As to the Ceremonies, they humbly repreſented that the Worſhip of God was perfect without them; that God hath declar'd himſelf in Mat-

Propoſals for an Accomodation between Presbyt. and Epiſ. offer'd by the *Presbyterians*.

'ters of Worſhip a jealous God; that the 'Reform'd Churches abroad, moſt of 'em, 'rejected the Ceremonies that were retain'd 'here in *England*; ever ſince the Reformation, they had been Matters of Contention 'and Diſpute, that they had occaſion'd the ſilencing of many pious and uſeful Miniſters, 'and given Riſe to many Separations from the 'Church; that they were at beſt but indifferent, 'and in their own Nature mutable, and therefore they begg'd that Kneeling at the Sacrament might not be impos'd; that the Surplice and the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the Bowing at the Name of Jeſus, rather than Chriſt or *Emmanuel*, might be aboliſh'd; and that 'Care might be taken to prevent future Innovations, contrary to the Law; that ſo the publick Worſhip might be free, not only from 'Blame, but Suſpicion.

The Epiſcopal Party reject the Propoſals of Presbyt.

All this while, they never had the Favour of converſing with their Brethren of the Epiſcopal Perſwaſion, tho' they had earneſtly deſir'd it, and it had been promis'd by his Majeſty: But at laſt, after they had deliver'd in their Propoſals, they receiv'd an Anſwer to 'em, which promis'd little Succeſs to thoſe, or any other Endeavours in order to Peace. In general, they let them know, 'That they don't ſee any 'thing is wanting in their Government, or that 'any thing needs to be added to it; declare 'againſt any Alterations; Biſhop *Uſher*'s Reduction they reject, as inconſiſtent with other 'of his Diſcourſes, and as being at beſt, but a 'Heap of private Conceptions. The Liturgy 'they applaud, as unexceptionable, nor will they 'part with one of their Ceremonies; inſiſting 'that if any Abatements were made, unquiet 'Spirits

Vid. Baxter's Life abridg'd.

'Spirits would be thereby encourag'd to further 'Demands.

SOME time after the King puts forth a Declaration which contained thoſe Conceſſions that were to unite them. The Miniſters had a Copy of the Declaration ſent to 'em before 'twas publiſh'd, and Liberty granted them to take Notice of ſuch Things as they thought inconſiſtent with the deſir'd Union: Accordingly, having perus'd it, they drew up a Petition to the *King*, and joyn'd with it ſome Remarks on the *Declaration*; but being deliver'd to the *Lord-Chancellor*, he dropp'd it, and never call'd them to preſent it to the *King*.

The King's Declaration, containing Terms of Union.

When the Declaration came forth, it was, in the main, very acceptable to the *Presbyterian Miniſters*, and was thought to comprehend ſufficient Terms of Concord; ſo that if it could have been paſs'd into a Law, many of the Miniſters would have accepted it, and a Multitude of Presbyterians would have thereby been brought into the Church; but this, 'tis known, could not be obtain'd, by reaſon of the Stiffneſs of the Epiſcopal Party, tho' ſome of themſelves have ſince applauded it as a moſt excellent Expedient for healing the Church. Dr. *Kennet* ſays, 'This Declaration has a Spirit of Truth and 'Wiſdom, and Charity, above any one publick 'Profeſſion that was ever yet made in Matters 'of Religion; it ſhews the admirable Temper 'and Prudence of the King and his Council in 'that tender Juncture of Affairs: He adds, it 'proves the Charity and Moderation of the Suffering Biſhops, in thinking ſuch Conceſſions 'to be juſt and reaſonable for Peace and Unity:' But how it proves this I cannot imagine, when 'tis certain they were neither pleas'd with theſe Terms of Union, nor were for Union upon any

Terms. He goes on (which will be granted) 'It condemns the unhappy Ferments that ſoon 'after follow'd, for want of coming to a Tem- 'per, and it may ſtand for a Pattern to Poſteri- 'ty, whenever they are heartily diſpos'd to 'reſtore the Diſcipline, and heal the Breaches of 'the Church.' The Doctor ſhould at leaſt, one would think, have lamented the want of this Temper in his Brethren, and have paſs'd a gentle Cenſure upon them for refuſing what he ſo much applauds, eſpecially when he uſes ſo much Freedom on the other Side. Another Learned Conformiſt, ſpeaking of the ſame Declaration, ſays, *A Divine Sentence was in the King's Mouth, and he erred not in Judgment*, when he compos'd it; and, that next to the Holy Scripture, he ador'd it, and thought that the united Judgment of the whole Nation could not form a more † un-

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Pag. 229. Vol. 3.

† This Declaration being the moſt promiſing Step that was taken in that Reign towards compoſing the Difference among the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, I ſhall recite the chief Paſſages of it. How much, ſays his Majeſty, the Peace of the State is concern'd in the Peace of the Church, is evident to the World. In our Letter from *Breda*, we declar'd how much we deſired the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion; and that we hop'd in ſome time to propoſe ſome Things for the Propagation of it, that will ſatisfy the World that we have always made it our Care and our Study: And the Truth is, we think our ſelf more competent to determine many Things now in Difference, from the Time we have ſpent, *and the Experience we have had in moſt of the Reform'd Churches abroad.* When we were in *Holland*, we were attended by many grave and learned Miniſters from hence, the principal Aſſertors of the Presbyterian Opinions, and found them, to our great Satisfaction, Perſons full of Affection for us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies to *Epiſcopacy* nor *Liturgy*; but modeſtly to deſire ſuch Alterations in either, as, without ſhaking Foundations, might beſt allay the preſent Diſtempers; for the better doing whereof, we did intend, upon our firſt Arrival in this Kingdom, to call a Synod of Divines, as the moſt proper Expedient to provide a Remedy for Differences in Religion; and in the mean time, we publiſh'd in our Declaration from *Breda*, a Liberty to Tender Conſciences; and that no Man ſhould be call'd in Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to an Act of Parliament for the full granting

granting that Indulgence. And having ſignify'd his high Approbation of the Church of *England*, and his Reſolution to maintain it, *he* adds, that the Government of it, as ancient in this Iſland as the Chriſtian Monarchy, has always, in ſome Reſpect or Degrees, been enlarg'd or reſtrain'd, as has been thought moſt conducive to the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom; and therefore we have not the leaſt doubt but that the preſent Biſhops will think the preſent Conceſſions, now made by us, to allay the preſent Diſtempers, *very juſt and reaſonable*, and will very chearfully conform themſelves thereunto.

1. We do in the firſt place declare our Reſolution to promote *the Power of Godlineſs*, and to encourage the Exerciſe of Religion, both Publick and Private; and to take Care that the Lord's-Day be applied to Holy Exerciſes; that negligent and ſcandalous Miniſters be not permitted in the Church; that the Biſhops be Men of Learning and Piety, and frequent Preachers.

2. Becauſe that ſome of the Dioceſſes are thought to be of *too large* Extent, we will appoint a ſufficient Number of Suffragan Biſhops.

3. No Biſhops ſhall ordain or exerciſe Juriſdiction, without the Aſſiſtance of the Presbytery; and no Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Officials, ſhall execute Excommunication, Abſolution, or any Act of Spiritual Juriſdiction, wherein any of the Miniſtery are concern'd, with reference to their Paſtoral Charge.

4. To the end that the Deans and Chapters may be better fitted to aſſiſt the Biſhops, we will take care that thoſe Preferments be given to the moſt learned and pious Presbyters of the Dioceſs: And moreover, that an equal Number to thoſe of the Chapter, of the moſt learned and pious Presbyters of the ſame Dioceſs, be annually choſen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of the Dioceſs, to aſſiſt in all Ordinations, and every Part of Juriſdiction, *&c.*

5. We will take care that Confirmation be ſolemnly perform'd, by the Information and with the Conſent of the Miniſter of the Place, who ſhall admit none to the Lord's-Supper, till they have made a credible Profeſſion of their Faith, and promis'd Obedience to the Will of God; and beſides the Suffragans and their Presbytery, every Rural Dean, together with three or four Miniſters of the Deanry, choſen by the major Part of all the Miniſters within the ſame, ſhall meet once every Month, to receive Complaints from the Miniſters or Church-Wardens of their reſpective Pariſhes; and to convince Offenders, and reform what's amiſs, by their Paſtoral Reproofs and Admonitions, *&c.*

6. No Biſhop ſhall impoſe any thing upon the Clergy or People, but according to Law.

7. Though we conceive the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to be the beſt we have ſeen, yet ſince ſome except againſt ſeveral Things in it, we will appoint an equal Number of both Perſwaſions to peruſe the ſame, and to make ſuch Alterations as ſhall be thought neceſſary, and ſome additional Forms (in the Scripture-phraſes as near as may be) ſuited unto the ſeveral Parts of Worſhip; and that it be left to the Miniſter's Choice to uſe one or other, at his Diſcretion: And our Will and

unexceptionable Expedient for a firm and laſting Concord of the diſtracted Churches; yet 'tis known *this unexceptionable Expedient* was excepted againſt, and when the Presbyterians would have united upon the Terms of it, could not be granted. All it produc'd was, a Conference between a certain Number of Miniſters of both Parties, appointed by his Majeſty's Commiſſion to meet together, and review the Liturgy: They met accordingly at the *Savoy*, and the Biſhops, before they would enter into any Debates with 'em, require of the Presbyterians to bring in their Exceptions, which they did, and engage in a formal Diſpute upon the Subject. But alas! it was ſoon ſeen that the Biſhops, *&c.* never intended any Accommodation, and that the Conference was rather deſign'd for an Occaſion of falling out, than Agreement.

Dr. *Nicols* imputes it to their Reſentment of their late Sufferings, that they were ſo ſtiff, as

Pleaſure is, that none be puniſh'd for not uſing the Common Prayer untill it be review'd, and effectually reform'd as aforeſaid.

8. Concerning Ceremonies, our preſent Conſideration and Work is, to gratify the private Conſciences of thoſe who are griev'd with the Uſe of them, by indulging to, and diſpencing with their omitting thoſe Ceremonies. We will, that none ſhall be deny'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, tho' they don't uſe the *Geſture of Kneeling* in the Act of Receiving. We are content that no Man ſhall be compell'd to uſe the Croſs in Baptiſm, or ſuffer for not doing it; that no Man be compell'd to bow at the Name of *JESUS*, or uſe the Surplice; and becauſe ſome Men, pious and learn'd, can't conform to the Subſcription requir'd by the Canon, nor take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, we are content they receive Ordination, Inſtitution, Induction, *&c. without*; that no Man be depriv'd upon the Statute of the 13th of *Elizabeth*, ſo he declare his Aſſent to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments; and having repeated his Reſolution, that none ſhall be diſquieted for different Opinions in Matters of Religion, he conjures all his loving Subjects to acquieſce in this Declaration concerning Differences which have ſo much diſquieted the Nation at home, and given ſuch Offence to the Proteſtant Churches abroad. Dated at *Whitehall*, *Octob.* 25. 1660.

not

not to change *Deadly Sin* in the Liturgy, which the Miniſters objected againſt as improper, but ſurely there is little Honour in this Apology, which implies, they wou'd Sacrifice the Peace of the *Church* to their own Paſſions. The truth on't is, they were determin'd againſt any Union with the Presbyterians; all the uſe that ſome of them deſign'd to make of this Treaty, was only to know upon what Terms the Miniſters might be brought into the Church, *That they might more effectually provide to exclude them*; ſo that *Arch-Biſhop* Sheldon is reported to have ſaid, *Now we know their Minds, we will make them all Knaves if they conform*; and when a certain Gentleman ſhow'd ſome Regret, that the Door was ſo ſtrait, that he fear'd many ſober Miniſters could not have Admiſſion; a certain Dean replies, *If we thought ſo many of them would have conform'd, we would have made it ſtraiter*; Nay it ſeems, ſo tenacious were they of all their antient Poſſeſſions, that when ſome of thoſe things came to be debated in the Convocation-Houſe, a Reverend Doctor comes out in a ſort of Tranſport, that they had carried it for *Bell* and the *Dragon*; and thus the good Deſign of the King's Declaration was fruſtrated; *Bell and the Dragon*, and all the reſt kept their place.

Epiſcopal Party abſolutely againſt any Accommodation.

AND now things ſoon return'd to their former Channel; the Spirit of Perſecution is rais'd again, and the *Old Plot* in all its Branches againſt the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Liberties, *reviv'd* and carried on with their uſual Zeal; this will appear upon a ſhort View of the Maxims, Meaſures, and Tranſactions of King *Charles* II's Reign.

AND

Things turn to their own Channel.

AND I ſhall firſt take Notice of the Contrivance of our Enemies, to keep up Animoſities among the *Engliſh* Proteſtants; one Party is ſet to Oppreſs and Devour another, which was of the moſt fatal Conſequence, and was no Queſtion owing in ſome Degree to *Popiſh Counſels*. That Body of Men that ſucceeded the old *Puritans*, and that had not only ſtood firm to the Principles of the Reformation, but were for improving it, and retiring further from *Rome*; *theſe* were made the Objects of a peculiar Spite, and put under very great Hardſhips.

Differences fomented between both Parties, and the Diſſenters, marked for Sufferings.

AFTER the Treaty at the *Savoy*, which was never intended for Union by ſome of the chief Managers, but was really all Grimace, a Reſolution is taken not only to caſt theſe Men out of the Church, but to ſhut the Door againſt them *for ever*: To which Purpoſe the *Act of Uniformity* was contriv'd; and that it might paſs the more currently, ſome have recourſe to a Stratagem Infamous to a Degree; and that was to trump up a Plot againſt the Government, and father it upon the *Presbyterians*: A particular Account of which was publiſh'd by Captain *Tarranton* in the Year 1681. and from him in ſeveral Books ſince, as alſo by Mr. *Baxter* in his Life, who was made a Party in it.

A *Presbyterian* Plot contriv'd to introduce the *Uniformity* Act.

CAPTAIN *Tarranton* gives us both the Plot and the Occaſion of it, ſpeaking of the King's Declaration mention'd before, he ſays, 'If the 'Parliament had paſs'd it into an Act, it had 'probably cemented the greateſt part of the 'Proteſtants throughout the Nation; but ſome 'both of the Clergy and Laity, that bore the 'greateſt Sway rejected it; and ſo his Majeſty's 'good and peaceable Intentions prov'd Abortive; theſe Men, (by whoſe Inſtigations you 'may imagine) inſtead of an Act of Union re-

'ſolve

'ſolve upon an Act of Uniformity, which they 'could not but know would prove the greateſt 'Bone of Contention that ever was in the Nation, 'and ſome of the leading Church-Men were 'heard to ſay, they would have an Act ſo fra-'med, as would reach *every Puritan* in the King-'dom; and that if they thought any of them 'would ſo ſtretch their Conſciences, as to be 'comprehended by it, they would inſert yet 'other Conditions and Subſcriptions; ſo as that 'they ſhonld have no Benefit by it But the 'King and Parliament they fear'd were not ful-'ly prepar'd for the paſſing ſuch an Act; there-'upon a Contrivance was ſet on Foot, to make 'a *Presbyterian Plot*; and this was the firſt they 'ever took in hand, and becauſe 'twas never 'taken Notice of by ſome, and forgotten by 'others, I ſhall, ſays my Author, therefore 'put it down at large, which I can the bet-'ter do, becauſe I was a great Sufferer there-'in; and what I relate, if Occaſion be, I 'can prove it by Letters and many living Wit-'neſſes. This Sham-Plot was laid in about 26 'Counties in *England*, That in *Worceſterſhire* 'he chiefly confines himſelf to. 'In the Month 'of *November* ſays he, in the Year 1661. ſeveral 'Letters were drawn up and deliver'd by Sir '*John P*———, to one *Richard N*——— his 'Neighbour, to carry to one *Cole* of *Martly*, 'about four Miles from *Worceſter*, who is now 'living. This *Cole* according to Inſtructions, 'delivereth a Pacquet of Letters to one *Churn*, 'of *Whitchinford* (who alſo is, or lately was 'alive, and dwelt near *Martly*): This Pacquet 'of Letters was carried by *Cole* and *Churn*, and 'deliver'd to Sir *John Packington* (from whom it 'came) and before him *Churn* makes an Affida-'vit, that going early in the Morning to his

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'Labour. he ſtruck his Bill upon an Hedge to 'cut a Thorn, and by and by on the other Side 'the Hedge he ſpied a *Scotch Pedler*, putting 'up Letters haſtily in his Pack; and being 'affrighted, as he ſuppoſed, he left that Pacquet 'behind in the Ditch, and went down a Lane 'leading to Collonel *John Birch*'s Houſe.

'THIS Oath being made, and the Pacquet 'deliver'd and open'd, it preſently appear'd 'that there was a Conſpiracy on Foot, to ſtir 'up Rebellion in the Kingdom, and to raiſe 'an Army for that Purpoſe; and that Captain '*Andrew Tarranton* was to Command an Army 'in thoſe Parts; for which Purpoſe there was 'ſeveral Letters directed to him from ſome Mi-'niſters and others; particularly one from Mr. '*Baxter*, Miniſter in *Kidderminſter*, intimating 'that he had provided a Conſiderable Body of 'Men, well Arm'd, which ſhould be ready '*againſt the Time appointed*; and another from 'Mr. *Sparry*, intimating he had order'd him '500*l.* lodg'd in a Friends Hand: Upon this the 'Militia of the County of *Worceſter* was rais'd 'immediately, and the City fill'd with them, 'the very Night after the Pacquet was open'd: 'The next Morning the Captain was ſeiz'd by 'a Troop of Horſe, and brought Priſoner to '*Worceſter*; as alſo was Mr. *Sparry*, Mr. *Oſland*, 'Mr. *Moor* and Mr. *Brian* Miniſters, together 'with ſome Scores of others: They were all 'kept cloſe Priſoners for ten Days; by which 'time the Train Bands, being weary, moſt of 'them were diſcharg'd paying their Fees; but 'the Captain, Mr. *Sparry* and the two *Oſlands*, 'were ſtill kept cloſe Priſoners; the Dignitaries 'of the Cathedral taking Care, when the Train'd 'Bands retir'd, to raiſe ſixty Foot Soldiers (who had Double Pay, and were call'd the Clergy-

'Band

' Band) to ſecure theſe Criminals.' One Jeſt among a great many Villanies in the Contrivance of this Plot was, that the terrible Man, Captain *Baxter*, was then at *London*, and had been ſo for ſome time; I ſuppoſe at the very Juncture when he promis'd to appear at the Head of his Troops. The like Plot was ſet on Foot in other Counties at the ſame time; ſundry Letters being feign'd in the Name of Perſons, and directed to ſuch as they had a Mind to make Criminals; exhorting them to be ready with their Arms and Men: And for a Sample I'll recite a Letter on the Occaſion of the *Oxfordſhire-Plot*, another Branch of *Baxter*'s-*Plot*. It was directed to Mr. *Martin* the Town-Clerk, and run thus:

Mr. Martin, *I pray you warn all thoſe Men to be in Arms on* Wedneſday *next in the Night; you know already where they muſt meet. There will come to* Oxford *two hundred Men, all in their Arms; you know who doth Command them; Dr.* Greenwood *hath ſent to Mr.* Combs *the Barber, to get his Party of Scholars ready that Night; and I have ſent to Mr.* Hickman *to get his Men ready at the ſame time; and Dr.* Gawin *has ſent to Mr.* Corniſh, *to get his Men ready at the ſame time. I have ſent to Dr.* Cannaught *to get his Men ready; and all the Scholars are to meet at Dr.* Roger's *Garden; and I pray ſend the Blunderbuſſes thither, for I intend to be there my ſelf, and I pray give the Bearer five out of the Stock, and I pray remember me to the ſix Men unnam'd; five Counties are to riſe that Night, without fail. I need write no more to you: The Word is,* God is the Word; *and I pray tell them all ſo.*

Mr.

These forged Plots the Preamble to the *Uniformity* Bill.

Mr. *Martin* immediately carries this Letter to a Justice of Peace which was the common Method taken, whereby the Snare was avoided; notwithstanding several were trapan'd, and Multitudes were taken up in all Parts of the Kingdom, and that for being concern'd in *Baxter's Plot* as they call'd it.

THE thing design'd in all this, was to possess the King and Parliament, that 'twas absolutely necessary to make a severe Act against such a *restless sort of Men*, who were always plotting to disturb the Government; and they were not disappointed, for when the Parliament met upon the 20th of *November* (to which time they were Adjourn'd) the King in his Speech to them takes Notice, 'That there were many wicked 'Instruments still as Active as ever, who la-'bour'd Night and Day to disturb the publick 'Peace, and recommends it to their Care to 'provide proper Remedies;' And no sooner was this Parliament in their Geers, but up starts Sir *J. P*——— one of the Knights for *Worcestershire*, and with open Mouth, informs them of a dangerous *Presbyterian-Plot* on Foot, and that now many of the Chief Conspirators were Prisoners in *Worcestershire*: The like Information was given by some Members, who serv'd for *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *&c.* Yea, this was the general Cry, as appears, from the printed Pamphlets at that time: Hereupon the Bill of *Uniformity* was presently upon the Anvil, form'd and finish'd that Sessions; and that these Plots were a Preamble to it, and design'd to introduce it can't reasonably be question'd, considering the Temper of Men and Posture of Affairs at that time.

I shall say nothing of this *famous Act*, only that it put an End to all Hopes of Peace and Concord, thrust 2000 Ministers out of the Church, and

and led on a Train of ſuch Hardſhips and Sufferings, as are a Reproach to a Proteſtant Nation: And indeed it ſeems this Law entred, *that the Offence might abound* they took Methods to force Men to be Tranſgreſſors, on purpoſe, one wou'd think, *that they might puniſh them*: Henceforward nothing but Reviling, Reproaching, Fines, Impriſonments, Law upon Law, made againſt the *Presbyterians*; and even the ſevere Act of the 35 of Queen *Elizabeth*, that made *Non-Conformity* Baniſhment or Death, was reviv'd and commanded to be put in Execution.

INDEED after this Spirit had rag'd, and thoſe Severities had been exercis'd a conſiderable while, the Parliament and Nation began to ſee their Miſtake, and partly from the Experience they had of the Unſucceſsfulneſs of ſuch Meaſures; and partly from the Apprehenſion of Deſtruction coming upon them all from the Common Enemy; they change their Counſels, and ſet themſelves to promote Union among his Majeſty's Subjects: To which purpoſe many Offers were made, and Schemes projected; but all was render'd ineffectual by *the High-flying Party*, who ſtill kept the Breaches open for the Enemy to come in at; which was the Tendency of their Conduct, and the Event alſo, whatever their meaning was.

Parliament for making Peace between the two *Parties*.

AND when nothing of this kind would paſs, no Union could be brought about between the Church-Men and Diſſenters; the Parliament reſolve if they can't make Peace, yet to ſtop Hoſtilities by diſarming the one Party, and ſaving the other from their Violence, that the Enemy might not triumph in the Ruin of both; to which purpoſe a Bill is brought in *for the exempting his Majeſty's Subjects from the Penalties of the Act of the 35 of Queen* Elizabeth. This Bill paſs'd both the Houſes; but when the King came to the

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Houſe of Lords to paſs ſundry Bills, *this* (for the Relief of Proteſtant Diſſenters) *was taken from the Table*, and could never be found; which as it could not be done without the King's Privity, ſo it convinc'd many, that the Indulgence the King had himſelf granted to Diſſenters, was not out of *real Tenderneſs* to them, but to introduce his diſpenſing Power, *&c.* (for he did it without Act of Parliament) ſo that the Scuffle is continued. No Favour muſt be ſhown theſe Men, but they are left to be torn to Pieces by their Fellow Proteſtants, with what Deſign, and for what Purpoſe 'tis eaſie to imagine.

I may reckon of the ſame Nature, and certainly of the ſame Tendency, the manifeſt Reſolution of the Court to Cruſh the *Presbyterian* Church of *Scotland*; which was done effectually by *Lauderdale* and others. In the Year 1664. ſome *Scotch* Presbyterians (Dr. *Kennet* calls them them the moſt Worthy) came up to Court and betrayed their Church; Mr. *Sharp*, *Hamilton*, *Farewel*, *Logton*: They firſt got the King's Declaration, for reſtoring the Government of *Scotland* by Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, as 'twas exercis'd, 1637. and, which it may be, was the Cream of the Jeſt, got themſelves made Biſhops. And in the very next Parliament in *Scotland*, *the Solemn League and Covenant* (that his Majeſty had thrice taken) was abjur'd; and all ſuch Leagues declar'd *Unlawful*, as was all manner of Reſiſtance of the King on any Pretence whatſoever.

Severities againſt the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*.

AND now a Part was acted in that Kingdom ſo black and horrid, as is enough to *make both the Ears of him that hears it tingle*: The Laws againſt the Covenanters were written in Blood and executed by Dragoons: A few State-Queſtions were invented that they knew would intangle poor Country-men, and if they fail'd in

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Answering these, they were presently taken up and Hang'd, without waiting the Formalities of Legal Trial and Conviction: It may be, no History can Parallel the Barbarities and Inhuman Butcheries acted towards the Presbyterian *Scots*: (I mean where Protestants were the Actors) *Coke* represents the Matter thus; 'Lauderdale, says 'he, in the Second Parliament held by him got an 'Act declaring that by Virtue of the King's Supremacy, the ordering of the Government of 'the Church does properly belong to his Majesty, &c. and that he may Enact and Emit such 'Orders and Constitutions concerning Church-'Administrations, Persons, Meetings, &c. as he 'shall think fit, any Law, Act or Custom to the 'contrary notwithstanding. Detection, Vol. II. p. 198.

'AND being Arm'd with sufficient Power 'he made all sorts of People depose upon Oath, 'their Knowledge of the Persons of Dissenters 'in the Exercise of their Worship upon Penalty 'of Imprisonment, Transportation, and being 'Sold for Salves, &c. making it Death for any 'to Preach in Fields or Houses, where any are 'without Doors; ordering that every Man for 'himself, and all under him, should give Bond 'not to go to Field-meetings; and to inform a-'gainst, pursue and deliver up all *outer Mini-*'sters to Judgment. He adds, That the Execution 'of these Orders was not by Legal Officers, but 'by an Army of Highland Robbers, who quar-'ter'd upon the Country; so that that it may 'be a Question whether the *French* King did 'not take his Measures in his *Dragooning Refor-*'*mation*, by the Ground-work laid by *Lauderdale*. K. *Charles* for Arbitrary Power.

* It would fill a large Volume to relate but a part of the Barbarities exercis'd towards this Persecuted People, in the Western Shires, where they were most Numerous, and firm to their Principles; they had an Host of *Highlanders* brought down upon them, ten or eleven Thousand added to the Standing Troops. These Savages more Cru- *The Sufferings of the Presbyterians in* Scotland.

el than *Turks or Tartars*, were to preſs upon the People a *Bond of Conformity*, wherein the Subſcriber was bound for himſelf, Wife, Children, Servants and Tenants, to frequent his Parochial Church; never go to the Field-Meetings, nor Entertain any that went; but to Inform againſt, Purſue and Deliver up all *Vagrant Preachers*. Whoever refuſed to Subſcribe theſe Bonds, muſt have 10, 20, 30 or 40 of theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Lictors*, quartered upon him, who beſides their Maintainance, exact a Contribution from the Landlord of 6 *d.* a Day for a Common Soldier, and more for an Officer; nor did they take leave ordinarily till they had deſtroyed and laid waſte all where they came. It would be endleſs to recount the Ravages of theſe Plunderers, and the Calamities of the Country and Families under their Diſcipline.

After the Riſing at *Bothwell Bridge*, Severities encreaſed; it was made Criminal to Harbour any of the Rebels, and Multitudes were Fin'd, Impriſon'd, and put to Death, for having *ſeen or ſpoken with ſome of them*. The Methods of their Proceeding, both in Convicting and Executing ſuch as were mark'd for Deſtruction, were as inhuman as moſt ever made uſe of by *Pagans* or *Papiſts*, and ſeem to make pretty exact Parallel with the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*; as the trapanning Men by Queſtion, demanding of them their Thoughts and Judgment about what paſs'd, when they had nothing to accuſe them of, thereby making them accuſe themſelves; as what they thought of the *Death of the Biſhop of St. Andrews*; whether was it Murder? and of the Riſing at *Bothwell Bridge*, *whether Rebellion* and Sin againſt God? Sometimes they would keep them in Priſon a Year together, without any Examination or letting them know their Crime; in the mean time ſending under the Pretence of Impriſoning, Spies upon them that would draw out ſomething that would afford Matter of Accuſation; or if that could not be done, they would put ſuch Oaths to them as they knew they ſcrupled, and thereby do their Work effectually. They frequently, when Priſoners were tried before them, had neither Accuſer nor Libel (exactly the way of the *Inquiſitors* in *Spain*) but require them to anſwer *ſuper inquirendis*; to all Queſtions they are pleaſed to propoſe. And if the Jury in a Caſe moſt Notorious, happened to be a little Shy, and to Boggle at the Work prepared for them, the King's Advocate would by Commands and Threatnings awe them to a Compliance; and force them to bring in the Priſoner Guilty. And, which is altogether borrow'd from the *Inquiſition*, when they could not get a direct Anſwer to their Queſtions, they would extort it by Torture, as by the Boot, *&c.*

And for their Executions, how Inhuman were they! Sometimes they would Cut off a Perſons Ears upon one Sentence, and then put him to Death upon another Sentence; they ſpared neither Age nor Sex: Some Women were Hang'd and others Drown'd, with admirable Art and Contrivance; being tied to a Stake within the Sea-Mark, and there left to View the Enemy, Death, advancing towards them Step by Step, on the back of the increaſing Waves. Many of the Men had their Hands and Privy Members cut off, their Heart pluckt out and thrown into the Fire whilſt alive. The Boots and Thumkins were the common Inſtruments of Torture, by which the very Marrow of their Legs and Thumbs was

ſqueezed

ANOTHER Step towards the general Ruin intended, was the ſetting up *Illegal Arbitrary Power*, under the Name of *Prerogative*: One may reaſonably ſuppoſe ſomething of this would be natural to King *Charles*, for it dwelt firſt in his *Grandfather James*, and his Father *Charles*; ſo that he had it by a ſort of *Hereditary Right*, nor did it leave him as long as he liv'd, for *Quo ſemel eſt imbuta* &c. Dr. *Wellwood ſays of him*, that if he had any fixt Maxim of Government, it was *to play one Party againſt another, to be thereby more Maſter of both.* K. *Charles* for Arbitrary Power.

AND as this was his Inclination, ſo he met with enough that fell in with it, and that not only Court-Paraſites, the conſtant way of thoſe Vermin, but the main Body of the Nation. This appear'd in an uncommon Degree, immediately upon his Reſtoration, as Dr. *Wellwood obſerves*, who aſcribes it to a more than ordinary care of Providence over *England*, that we did not throw up all Liberties at once. 'When the King was 'brought back, ſays he, he poſſeſs'd ſo entirely 'the Hearts of his Subjects, that nothing was 'thought too much for them to grant, or him to 'receive; among other Deſigns to pleaſe him, 'there were one form'd at Court to ſettle ſuch a

ſqueezed out. Many of their Priſoners, whilſt under Methods of Examination, were kept waking (by Soldiers Sworn to the Purpoſe) for 7, 8 or 9 Nights together, and when led to Execution, muſt not be ſuffer'd to ſpeak one Word for their own Vindication, or the Inſtruction of others, the Drums Beating all the while; and if it be asked where this was done, among *Turks*, *Tartars*, or *Jews*, the *Canibals* or *Caribbees*, or rather the *Toupinambo's*, who as Mr. *Lock* ſays, believed they merited Heaven by the Virtues of Revenge, and eating abundance of their Enemies: No, theſe were not the Actors in this Tragedy, but Chriſtians; and which is worſe, Proteſtants; and ſuch as would take it ill not to be diſtinguiſhed, as moſt Primitive, Pure, *&c.* But tell it *not in Gath*! Nor do I mention theſe things with the leaſt Deſign of fixing a Reproach upon any Party that renounces ſuch Principles; only to ſhow the Spirit of that time, and beget an Abhorrence in the Reader of ſuch Inhumanity.

'Revenue upon him *during Life*, by Parliament, 'as ſhou'd place him beyond the Neceſſity of 'asking more, excepting in the Caſe of a War, 'or ſome ſuch extraordinary Occaſion. The 'Earl of *Southampton* came heartily into it, out 'of a meer Principle of Honour and Affection 'to the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* ſecretly 'oppos'd it.' It ſeems *Clarendon* endeavour'd to 'take off the Treaſurer, telling him, He knew 'more of the King's Temper and Inclination 'than he could pretend to know, and that if 'ſuch a Revenue was ſettled for Life, not only 'neither of them ſhould be of further uſe; but 'that in all probability, they ſhould not ſee many 'more Seſſions of Parliament during that Reign. 'This Paſſage came afterwards to the King's 'Ear, and was the true Reaſon why he abando-'ned *Clarendon* to his Enemies.'

BUT notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, adds the ſame Author, King *Charles* made a Shift to get more Money from his firſt Parliament towards the Expence of his Pleaſures, than all the Predeceſſors of the *Norman* Race had obtain'd before towards the Charges of their Wars.

AND as they fill'd his Purſe, they very much rais'd his Power; they put a Sword into his Hand, and tied up the Hands of the Nation, and of every Man in it, from reſiſting even a Ruffian that comes to Cut their Throat; if he can but ſhow the King's Commiſſion, which was done by the famous Declaration inſerted in the Act of *Uniformity*, and to be ſubſcrib'd by every Dignitary, Vicar, Parſon, Curate, or Schoolmaſter, 'in theſe Words:

I A. B. do declare, That 'tis not Lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor the traiterous Poſi-

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tion of taking up Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or any that are Commiſſion'd by him.

The Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* Eſtabliſhed by a Law.

AT the ſame time they Enact the Sole Right of the Militia to be in the King: Add to this, that as the Makers and Interpreters of the Law had thus advanc'd the Prerogative, and declar'd the King irreſiſtible; ſo another ſort of Men fell in with them; the one declare this is Law, and the other Goſpel, and bind it upon the Conſcience on Penalty of Damnation.

SOME time after a Declaration much in the ſame Terms, was requir'd by Act of Parliament to be taken by all that enjoy'd any Office either Civil or Military, Privy Counſellors, Juſtices of Peace, and Members of Parliament, with an Additional Clauſe, to this Effect:

I A. B. *Do Swear, I will not endeavour any Alteration in the Government of this Kingdom in Church or State, as 'tis by Law Eſtabliſh'd.*

THIS was call'd *the Teſt of Abhorrence*, and was deſign'd to purge the Houſe of Commons, as well as ſerve other Purpoſes.

AND now what Wonder if the King ſet up for *Abſolute*, and reſolv'd to purſue his own Meaſures, when the Men of the Law make it Treaſon to reſiſt him upon any Pretence whatever, and the Men of the Goſpel pronounce it Damnation; thereby to uſe the Words of Dr. *Welwood*, Adopting a ſecond time into our Religion a *Mahometan Principle* under the Name of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, which ſince the time of the Impoſtor, that firſt broach'd it, has been the Means to inſlave a great part of the World.

WHAT influence ſuch Doctrine had in that, and eſpecially in the following Reign, is not forgotten. King *Charles* indeed could not purſue the Principle in its full length, he found the Parliament at laſt ready to ſtand up againſt him, and diſpute the Power they had given him; but he ſhew'd his good Will, and ventur'd as far as he could: Hence his *diſpoſing with the Penal Laws*, by his Declaration of Indulgence in 1662. and again ten years after; *and his ſhutting up the Exchequer*, which was done by a Right, according to which, the King might ſeize any Man's Eſtate in the Kingdom at pleaſure, and apply it to his own uſe: The Matter was thus, the King reſolves upon a War with the *Dutch*, but wanting Money to ſupply his preſent Occaſions, and not thinking fit to adviſe with a Parliament, and ask their Aſſiſtance, or indeed to let them ſit at a time, when his Counſels would not bear Examination; he reſolves upon an Expedient, and that was to *ſeize the Exchequer*, where the Bankers had lodg'd between thirteen and fourteen hundred thouſand Pounds of other People's Money. The King promis'd indeed Payment, and that no Perſon ſhould be defrauded of any thing that was juſtly due to him; but he had too many Occaſions for Money, and too little Regard to his Word, to trouble himſelf much about the Matter; ſo that all this Money was loſt to the Proprietors, till one of King *William's Parliaments* about thirty years after, out of Regard to the publick Credit, as well as the Relief of the Particular Sufferers, makes Proviſion for the Debt. Mr. *Baxter*, it ſeems, had lodg'd 1000 *l.* there for Charitable Uſes, which had the ſame Fate with the reſt.

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ANOTHER Branch of the ſame Deſign and Step taken in our Ruin, was the ſtrict Friendſhip and Correſpondence carried on with *France*; King *Charles*, tho' he was for graſping at more Power than the Conſtitution allow'd, or than he knew how to uſe, either for his own Honour or his Subjects Comfort; yet ſo far diſgrac'd himſelf as to become a ſort of Vaſſal and Dependant of a Neighbouring Prince: Any one that reads an Impartial Hiſtory of his Reign, will ſee him a *conſtant Penſioner of France*. The *French* King ſupplies him with Money and Miſtreſſes; and for this he ſubmits his Counſels to his Directions, and in Effect ſells and delivers the Nation into his Hand: A Foundation for this fatal Friendſhip, or rather Conſpiracy, was laid, 'tis probable before King *Charles*'s Reſtoration; and was further ſtrengthen'd immediately upon his Acceſſion, when the Queen-Mother made a Viſit to the *Engliſh* Court, to Contratulate her Son, as was pretended; 'But it was generally 'ſuſpected, ſays a late Hiſtorian, her true Er-'rand was to draw her Son to a Match wih *Por-'tugal*, a League with *France*, and Surrender of '*Dunkirk*.' And I need not ſay how ſhe ſucceeded herein.

K. *Charles* a Penſioner of *France*.

Gompleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 214.

Dunkirk, tho' look'd upon of that Importance to the Nation, that the Parliament was preparing an Act to annex it for ever to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms; yet was Sold to the *French* King for five hundred Thouſand Pounds, a Price not exceeding in Valley what the Ammunition, Artillery and Stones were worth, as was alledg'd afterwards by the Commons, in their Charge againſt *Clarendon*: The Bargain being made, it was inglorioufly put into their Hands under the Government of Count *D' Eſtrades*; the *Engliſh* Governor with two Companies,

Dunkirk Sold.

guarding the Gates at their Entrance, and delivering up the Keys. This Action was very ill reſented by the Body of the People of *England*, who were apt to think the Sale of ſo important a Place (after the Parliament's giving and applying Money for the Maintenance of it) was the deplorable Sign of a weak and mercenary Court.

THE Friendſhip with *France* was ſo firm and inviolable, and look'd upon ſo neceſſary to ſupport the arbitrary Meaſures the Court was purſuing, and the Hopes of a *Popiſh Expectant*, that every thing muſt be ſacrific'd to it. We can't have a ſtronger Inſtance of this than the *Triple League*, which was given up, and all the Security it contain'd, in Complaiſance to *France*, and to ſerve a Faction at home.

'Tis known, the growing Power and ambitious Deſign of *France* alarm'd all its Neighbours, and put ſeveral of them upon entring into Meaſures to ſecure themſelves againſt the Encroachments of that aſpiring Monarch. Hence the famous *Triple Alliance* between *England*, *Holland* and *Sweden*, which was to true *Engliſh* Men and Proteſtants as Life from the Dead, it being the great Bulwark at that time to the Proteſtant Religion and Liberties of *Europe*, eſpecially of *Britain*, then languiſhing; but this, as I ſaid, was given up, and vilely betray'd by thoſe that were at the Helm of Affairs. 'The Miniſtry, 'ſays a late Writer, thro' Corruption, were gain'd 'to the *French* Intereſt; an hundred Thouſand 'Piſtols were remitted to *Colbert*, the *French* 'Ambaſſador, which he laid out to the beſt Advantage. The Manager call'd the *Cabal*, be'cauſe the initial Letters of their Names com'poſe that Word, had the greateſt Share of it, who being well paid for their Service, ſet themſelves,

The Triple League diſſolv'd.

Secret Hiſt. of *Europe*, p. 112.

Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhley, Lauderdale.

'ſelves, by all the Arts imaginable, to break 'the Triple League, and make the King fall out 'with the *Dutch*.' To which Purpoſe, they labour to perſwade him, that they were ſolliciting an Alliance with the *French* againſt *England*; and in ſhort, that his Majeſty ought to have nothing to do with a Republick that had vow'd his Deſtruction. The Meaning of all this was obvious enough, *viz.* to draw the King to get cloſſer Engagements with *France*, and ſeparate him from his Proteſtant Allies.

IT was to further this Deſign, that the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, King *Charles*'s Siſter, is ſent over, and had an Interview with him at *Dover*. 'In Pre-'tence, it was for a Viſit of Love and Reſpect 'to her Brother, but in Deſign, for a Meſſage 'from the *French* Court to break the *Triple* '*League*, and to draw the King of *England* to 'aſſiſt *France* againſt the *Dutch*.' And when ſhe had finiſh'd her Negotiation, ſhe left behind her to perform what remain'd, a beautiful Lady Madam *Carewell*, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, the King's Favourite Miſtreſs, and the Nation's greateſt Enemy.

Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. 3. pag. 278.

SOON after *Coventry* was diſpatch'd to *Sweden*, expreſly, as he affirm'd at his Departure, ſays Mr. *Marvel*, to diſſolve the *Triple League*, which he did effectually, and brought the *Swedes* over to the *French* Intereſt: He adds, 'Tis a 'Matter of ſad Reflection, that he who ſo well 'underſtood both the Theory and Practick of 'Honour, could in ſo eminent an Inſtance forget 'it, and be a Tool for breaking the Three-fold 'Cord, by which the Intereſt of *England* and 'all Chriſtendom was faſtned.' At his Return, he was rewarded with the Place of Secretary of State, beſides what his Maſter of *France* gave him for ſo meritorious a Service.

Growth of Popery, pag. 28.

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AND now agreeable to this fine Management, and in Purſuit of the grand Plot, the *Dutch* are cried out of, and mark'd out for Deſtruction, as our worſt Enemies; only they want a Pretence againſt them, which they ſoon find: Mr. *Marvel* thus repreſents it. 'They try an Experiment, and make a Caſe that had never before happen'd, or been imagin'd; A *ſorry Yatch*, but bearing the *Engliſh* Jack, in *Aug.* 1671. ſails into the midſt of their Fleet, ſingling out the Admiral, ſhooting twice ſharp upon him: The Commander in Chief, in Deference to his Majeſty's Colours, and in Conſideration of the Amity between the Two Nations, paid our Admiral of the Yatch a Viſit, to know the Reaſon; and learning it was becauſe *he and his whole Fleet* had fail'd to ſtrike Sail to his *ſmall Craft*, the *Dutch* Commander civilly excus'd it, as a Matter of the firſt Inſtance, in which he could have no Inſtructions. The *Yatch* having thus acquited her ſelf, return'd home fraught with the Quarrel ſhe was ſent for.' And this kindled the *Dutch* War, ſo much to the Reproach and Infamy of the *Engliſh* Counſels, as well as Prejudice of their Affairs.

A Quarrel pick'd with the *Dutch*.

'TIS obſervable the *French* King had twiſted both Intereſts together, Civil and Religious, in the Enterprize againſt the *Dutch*; and therefore, by his Ambaſſador at *Vienna*, declares he had undertaken the War againſt *Holland*, for propagating the *Catholick Cauſe*, and that *all good Chriſtians* were bound to join with him to *extirpate Hereſy*; and it was in this War, moſt perfidiouſly begun, that the *good Chriſtians* of the *Engliſh* Court join'd, tho' at the ſame time, the *French* King took care that the *Hereticks* ſhould have the chief Honour of the deſign'd Extirpa-

Coke, 176.

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tion themſelves, his Buſineſs was to ſtand and look on. 'He only ſtudied, ſays Mr. *Marvel*, 'to ſound our Seas, to ſpy our Ports, to learn 'our Buildings, to contemplate our way of 'Fighting, to conſume ours, and preſerve his 'own Navy; and to order all ſo, that the two 'great Naval Powers of *Europe* being cruſh'd together, he might remain ſole Arbitrator of 'the Ocean, and by conſequence, Maſter of all 'the Iſles and Continents.' And he wanted but a little of accompliſhing this, having overrun *Holland* with an Army of near an hundred and fifty thouſand, and reduc'd the States to the very Brink of Ruin; ſo that in great Conſternation, a Multitude of their richeſt Families abandon'd their Country, and retir'd to *Hamburgh*, *Antwerp*, and other Places, for Security.

Prince of *Orange* made Stadholder, and becomes the Inſtrument of ſaving the Liberties of *Europe*.

AND now it was that the Prince of *Orange*, afterwards the *Glorious King William*, entred upon the Office he was born for, the Relief of the Diſtreſs'd, and the Reſcue of ſinking States and Nations, the People, thro' the Prevalency of the *Loveſtein Faction*, ſworn Enemies to the Houſe of *Orange*, had aboliſh'd the Office of *Stadtholder*; but now they ſee a Neceſſity of reſtoring it, which they do in the Perſon of the Prince of *Orange*, reinſtating him in all the Dignities of his Family, which I can't but look upon as an happy *Criſis* in favour of the Proteſtant Religion, and Liberties of this Part of the World, that were ſacrific'd to the Ambition of *France*.

Sir *William Temple's* Memoirs.

IMMEDIATELY upon the young Prince's Advancement, the drooping Spirit of the *Dutch* began to revive. The *French* now turn'd all their Applications towards the Prince, and made his Highneſs all the Offers that could be of Honour and Advantage to his Family, *provided he would*

be

be contented to depend on them. The Bait propos'd was, that the Prince ſhould be Sovereign of the Provinces, *under the Protection of* England *and* France; and it ſeems the Duke of *Buckingham*, one of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors to the *French* King, preſs'd the Prince to accept of ſuch a Sovereignty, as *France* had propos'd (*i. e.*) under the Two Crowns, repreſenting as an Argument to perſwade him to it, the deſperate State of his Country: The Prince conſtantly reply'd, that he would never ſell the Liberties of his Country, his Anceſtors had ſo long defended; and as to what his Grace had ſaid of the dangerous Condition his Country was in; he reply'd it was indeed true, yet he had one way ſtill left, not to ſee its Ruin compleated, *and that was to lie in the laſt Ditch.*

AND never was a young Soldier and Stateſman kept more buſy to prevent this (the utter Deſtruction with which they were threatned). The *French* carry on their Conqueſts by Land, the *Engliſh* joyn with them by Sea, as if they were reſolv'd to purſue the Maxim often repeated by a great Man of the *Engliſh* Court, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, having, at the Inſtigation of the *French* Ambaſſador, Monſieur *Colbert* (to ſave his Maſter's Pocket) ſeized the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet; ſo that we firſt plunder'd them, and then fought them with their own Weapons.

THE Prince makes a noble Stand againſt the Enemy, notwithſtanding the Diſadvantages he was under; gives him ſeveral Repulſes; forces him to abandon ſome of his Conqueſts; and being by the concurring Suffrage of his Country made *Hereditary Stadtholder*, is an Inſtrument to take off the *Engliſh* from their moſt impolitick and fatal Confederacy with *France*, the Parliament of *England* in the mean time ſeconding

ſeconding his Endeavours; voting for Peace, offering to give Money for that, but refuſing any for the Service of ſuch a War; ſo that a Peace was concluded with *England*, 1674. upon which the Prince was more at leiſure to attend his encroaching Neighbour, and defend his Borders againſt his Invaſions.

IN this ſame Year the memorable Battle of *Seneff* was fought between the Confederates and the *French*, the one Army commanded by the young Prince of *Orange*, and the other by the experienc'd General the Prince of *Conde*: The Fight laſted all Day, and ſo equal was it, that both Sides claim'd the Victory; tho' the Prince of *Orange* had one Argument for it, that is generally thought ſufficient, he kept the Field whilſt the Enemy retir'd. Such was the Conduct and Bravery of the young Prince, that the Enemies General, the great *Conde*, could not forbear giving him a moſt honourable Character. 'I have fought, ſays he, *Twenty Princes of Orange* that Day; for he was every where, he ſhew'd the Experience of an old General, and the Bravery of a Soldier; the only Fault, I think he was guilty of was, expoſing his Perſon too much. In ſhort, I have reaſon to believe, that this young Prince will equal, if not exceed, the *Williams*, the *Maurices*, and *Henries*, his Glorious and Renown'd Anceſtors." Nor did he ever forfeit this Character, but continued to raiſe it higher and higher, by a Series of Actions that made him the Terror of *France*, and the Darling of his Country. Battle of *Seneff*.

AND when I have added, that this *young Hero* was afterwards married to a Daughter of *England*, the Princeſs *Mary*, by means of which Match he came to ſucceed to our Crown, and was the happy Inſtrument of ſo many great Things done,

done and yet doing, I can't forbear calling him, *the good Genius of Europe*, and ſuppoſe him rais'd up, on purpoſe to be a Bleſſing to this part of the World.

BUT to return; After the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, the *French* were continually harraſſing us, filling our Seas with Pirates, and making Prize, Plundering or Murdering all they met with; and while they were doing this, *were ſupply'd with Recruits from hence*; if any would go Voluntarily into the *French* Service, they were encourag'd, and others that would not were Impreſt; and carried over by meer Force; and which would amaze any that has never read the Principles that influenc'd and govern'd at that time. 'His Majeſty's Magazines were 'emptied, to furniſh the *French* with all ſorts of 'Ammunition; of which the following Note 'contains but a ſmall Parcel in Compariſon of 'what was daily convey'd away under Colour 'of Cockets for *Jerſy* and other Places, from *June* 1675, to *June* 1677. were Exported from *London* to *France*. Granadoes without Number under pretence of Un-wrought Iron.

The *French* encourag'd to Plunder the Nation.

Marvel Growth, &c. p. 69.

Lead-Shot 21 Tuns.
Gun-Powder 7134 Barrels.
Iron Shot 18 Tun, 600 Weight.
Iron Ordinance, 441. Quantity 292 Tuns 900 Weight.
Carriages, Bandaliers, Pikes, &c. uncertain.

NOW this was the Repriſal we took of the *French*, for Plundering us, Burning our Ships, and Robbing our Merchants; and indeed all our Conduct was agreeable hereto; ſo that no body can View it from firſt to laſt, but muſt be ready to think King *Charles* was preparing to do what he would have had the Prince of *Orange* to have done

done with respect to *Holland*, *viz.* to *hold the Sovereignty of* England *under the Protection of France*. The better to Cultivate this good Understanding between the two Crowns; and especially, to serve his own Interest, the Duke of *York*, now a Widower by the Death of his Dutchess, the Lord *Clarendon*'s Daughter, who declar'd she died a Papist, leaves the *French* King to appoint a Wife for him, who chose the *Princess of Modena* a Dependant on *France* (from whence she was to have her Portion) and a Favourite of the Court of *Rome*, being related to the Pope. This Match was soon concluded by Means of *Coleman* the Duke's Secretary, and Father *Ferrier* the *French* King's Confessor; upon which the Duke and the *French* King mutually declare their Interest to be one and the same; and the *French* King offers him his Purse to assist him against all his Enemies.

Alliance with *France* strengthned by the D. of *York*'s Marriage.

THE last Work they had to do, and which indeed was the Principal, and first Intention, and which all the rest subserv'd, *was the gradual undermining the Protestant Religion*, and making Way for the Return of that Heap of Folly, *called the Catholick Faith*. An Eye was had to this all along, and a great deal of Intreague used for that Purpose; at first the Duke conceals himself, and it was made *Criminal* to say he was a *Papist*; but afterwards he casts off the Mask and appears more bare-fac'd, and begins to take wide Steps for introducing what is design'd.

THE Papists every where have Marks of Favour shewn them, general Licence was granted by Proclamation in *Ireland*, to all the Papists there to live in Corporations, and exercise Trades, and enjoy the same Privileges other Subjects ought to do, which was more than the Protestants could claim that were not Free of the

Popery countenanced by the D. of *York*.

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Corporation: The Kingdom is fill'd with Prieſts and Jeſuits, &c. Maſs is ſaid *openly* in the Queen's Chappel, at *Somerſet-Houſe*; and Papiſts are put into the higheſt Offices of the Kingdom: And ſuch was the Duke's Power; that he was in effect King already, King *Charles* leaving him at the Head of his Affairs, whilſt he abandon'd himſelf to his Pleaſures; ſo that every Body that would ſee, might ſee Popery as well as Slavery, not ſo properly *ſtealing* as *marching* in among us *in a ſort of Triumph*.

Parliament alarm'd with Fears of Popery.

THE Parliament had often complained of the Growth of Popery, and Addreſs'd his Majeſty to provide againſt it; which was generally comply'd with to the Expence of a Proclamation; tho' the Papiſts were ſeldom either much hurt or much affrighted with it; but at laſt being more arous'd out of their Security, and ſeeing the Miſchief that was coming upon them, they Arm againſt it as well as they can, and reſolve to take all neceſſary Meaſures for their Safety; and therefore after ſeveral fruitleſs and ineffectual Attempts to unite the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, they contrive to exclude the Papiſts from any Share in the Government, which was done *by the Teſt Act*; by which it was requir'd, 'That all Perſons bear-
'ing any Office, or Place of Truſt or Profit, ſhall
'take the Oaths of *Supremacy and Allegiance* in
'Publick and Open Court; and ſhall alſo re-
'ceive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ac-
'cording to the Uſage of the Church of *England*
'upon ſome Lord's Day immediately after Di-
'vine Service and Sermon; and deliver a Cer-
'tificate of having ſo receiv'd the Sacrament un-
'der the Hands of the reſpective Miniſters and
'Church-Wardens, prov'd by two credible Wit-
'neſſes upon Oath, and put upon Record in
'Court

'Court': And that after taking the ſaid Oaths of *Supremacy*, ſhould alſo Make and Subſcribe this Declaration.

I A. B. *Do declare, That I believe there is not any* Tranſubſtantiation *in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Conſecration thereof, by any Perſon whatſoever.*

DR. *Kennet* Remarks, which Act and Teſt therein preſcribed, was a great Security to the Proteſtant Religion; he might have added (which would have given a little of the Ornament of Impartiality to his Hiſtory, which ſome will miſs in it), That 'tis Pity an Act deſign'd purely againſt the Papiſts, as appears from the Preamble and Title, ſhould be turn'd againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*. 'Tis ſaid, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had a main Hand in this Bill, dealt with *Alderman Love*, a noted Diſſenter then in the Houſe of Commons, not to oppoſe it; being ſo needful at that time, to diſarm Papiſts of the Power they had; aſſuring him, that another Bill ſhould be procur'd to Explain it, ſo as that it ſhould not touch the Diſſenters; but this was afterwards forgot: Upon the Paſſing the Bill, the Duke of *York*, General of the Army, and the Lord Treaſurer *Clifford*, as the Firſt Fruits of the Bill, laid down all their Places.

Which is thus, *An Act for preventing Dangers that may happen from Popiſh Recuſants.*

BUT this was not thought ſufficient to ſtem the Tide that roſe ſo high, and run ſo violently that it threatned to bear down all Legal Securities. The Duke, tho' remov'd from being General, continued to be more then ſo, and was like ſhortly to be all; ſo that the more conſiderate part of the Nation, that had the trueſt Concern for the Intereſt of it, both Civil and

Religious; agreed it was absolutely necessary to take some further Measures to shelter them from the Storm they saw approaching; and nothing was lookt upon effectual, but *to exclude* the Duke of *York* from succeeding to the Crown, which accordingly was resolv'd upon in the House of Commons.

Bill of Exclusion.

A long Series of Actions (in all which was the Hand of *Joab*) convinc'd them they could not be safe till this was done. The Army at *Black Heath*, struck Terror into many, and no question gave Life to the Resolutions taken in Parliament. This Army lay there to be ready against the *Dutch*; 'But it was the general Ap-'prehension, that having no Hope to get the 'Parliament to set up their Religion by Law, 'it was their Intention to put down Parliaments 'and reduce the Government to the *French* Mo-'del, and Religion to their State by a Standing Army:' And this Suspicion appear'd not unreasonable afterwards when 'twas found, that fifty seven Commissions were granted in one Month to Popish Recusants, with Warrants to Muster without any Regard to Law, neither taking the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, nor the Test. These Warrants being Counter-sign'd by Sir *J. W.* Secretary of State. The Commons committed him to the *Tower*, *but the King next Day discharg'd him with a Reprimand to the Commons.*

Coke, 273.

But what most startled the Parliament and the whole Nation, and supported the Zeal with which they appear'd against the Duke, was the *Popish Plot*, which being a Matter of great Influence upon the State of the Publick Affairs, both then and afterwards, I shall give some Account of it.

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THE King tho', it may be, true enough to their Intereſt at bottom, yet not having Courage to effect it at all Adventures, nor driving ſo faſt as they would have him, was now an Offence and Embarraſsment to them; ſo that they continue to make Way for their better Friend; eſpecially when they ſaw a Parcel of Whigs in the Parliament were ſo brisk againſt him, as to go about to defeat their future Hopes; and beſides the King was as like to live as the Duke, and by his Conſtitution might expect to ſurvive him; the Conſequence of which would be the Death of their Cauſe and Hopes. Whereupon they reſolve to haſten his Majeſty's Paſſage into the other World, ſince he ſtood ſo much in their way whilſt in this; not that he wanted (as is ſuppoſed) Affection to the Papiſts, but he wanted a flaming Catholick Zeal, being neither willing to forego or abridge himſelf of his Eaſe and Pleaſure, on the Account of any Religion; nor willing to run the Riſque of his Crown, by purſuing all the Meaſures they would preſcribe. Popiſh Plot

THAT there was a *Popiſh Plot*, was made too evident to be deny'd by any but thoſe who have a Face to deny any thing, and whoſe Intereſt 'twas particularly to deny that: The intercepted Letters of *Coleman*, that paſs'd between him and Father *Le Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, put it out of doubt. *Oats*, who had been Educated in the Church of *England*, and receiv'd Orders in it, but ſeemingly reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*, was the firſt Diſcoverer of the Plot. His Information before the King and Council was to this Purpoſe; 'That there had 'been a Plot carried on by *Jeſuits* and other Ca'tholicks againſt his Majeſty's Life, the Pro'teſtant Religion, and the Government of this 'Kingdom, referring for Proof to *Coleman's*

Letters, where the Evidence was glaring, and too ſtrong to be withſtood; tho' he had time enough to convey away his Book of Entries for the two laſt Years, which it appears he did from his Servant *Boatman*'s Depoſitions; yet, ſays *Coke*, the Letters that were found amaz'd the greater part of the Council. The Parliament was to meet a few Days after, which we may well think was far from being Grateful to ſome Embark'd in the Affair; and therefore the King is prevail'd with to Prorogue them to a further Day, and afterwards to another Day; but when they got together, they preſently fell upon the Plot, and came to this Reſolution, *Nemine Contradicente*. 'That upon the Evidence that has 'already appear'd to this Houſe, this Houſe is 'of Opinion, that there hath been and † ſtill is

† The *Popiſh Plot* was one continued thing, and run almoſt thro' this Reign; when they could not Act, they were ſtill Contriving; but now was a Time of Execution, when they were to ſtrike Home. Another reſolute Attempt to the ſame Purpoſe, was made in *66.* when the City was fir'd. The *Papiſts* indeed deny their Concern in the Fact; but their Word, I ſuppoſe, cannot be thought of any Weight in the Matter; the Fire began *Septemb.* 2, 1666. at one *Farriner*'s Houſe, a Baker in *Pudding Lane*, between the Hours of One and two in the Morning, and continu'd burning till the 6th of *Septemb.* conſuming, according to the Surveyors Account, 373 Acres within the Walls, and above 63 Acres without; 89 Pariſh Churches, beſides Chappels, and above 13000 Houſes. When the Parliament met, they appointed a Committee to enquire into the Cauſes of the late Fire: An Account of the Informations made before the Committee, and their Report thereupon, is to be found in a Pamphlet, call'd *London Flames Reviv'd*, printed *Anno* 1689. By which it appears, that the horrid Villany was concerted by the Papiſts, ſeveral of them having ſpoke and wrote of the Deſolation, *that would be at* London *in* Septemb. *ſome Months before*; and many of them being caught throwing Fire-Balls into Houſes. Whilſt the Fire rag'd, the Duke of *York* was mighty buſie in endeavouring to ſtop it, of which an Account was ſent thro' the Nation in a publick Print; and he was not leſs buſie afterwards in preventing the Enquiry who kindled the Flames, than he then ſeemed to be in extinguiſhing them; none were Proſecuted for the Crime, notwithſtanding ſeveral were taken in the Fact, except one *Hubert*, who was Convicted upon

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'a *damnable helliſh Plot*, contriv'd and carry'd 'on by Popiſh Recuſants, for Aſſaſſinating and 'Murdering the King, ſubverting the Govern-'ment, rooting out and deſtroying the Prote-'ſtant Religion.' And on the ſame Day the Lords paſt the ſame Vote, as they did with Reference to *Ireland* ſometime after, *viz.* 'That 'they are fully ſatisfy'd that there now is, and 'for ſeveral years paſt has been an horrid and 'treaſonable Plot, contriv'd and carry'd on by 'thoſe of the Popiſh Religion in *Ireland*, for 'Maſſacring the *Engliſh*, and ſubverting the 'Proteſtant Religion, and the antient Eſtabliſh'd 'Government of the Kingdom.' This Reſolution was ſent down by the *Lords* to the *Commons Houſe*, for their Concurrence; who agree with the Lords; adding further, that the Duke of *York*'s being a Papiſt, and his expectation of coming to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement thereto, as well as to the horrid Popiſh Plot in the Kingdom of *England*.

THE *Duke* and his Party, in the mean time, do all they can to ſtifle the Plot: That excellent Magiſtrate Sir *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, loſt his

his own Confeſſion, that he, with others his Accomplices, ſet the City on Fire; and being after Conviction carried thro' the Ruines, he pointed to the very Spot where the firſt Houſe that was fired ſtood.

The Commons reſolve to examine *Hubert* who ſet him on ſuch Work, and who joined with him in it; but ſays Mr. *Hawles*, the next Day he was Hang'd, and ſo he could tell no further Tales: One Particular was called to Mind at that time, that in the beginning of the Year, *Rathbone*, *Sanders*, and ſix others, were Executed for Conſpiring the Death of the King and Subverſion of the Government, in order to which, the City of *London* was to be ſet on Fire, *Sept.* 3. which by ſome *Aſtrological Scheme*, was pitched upon as a lucky Day for ſuch an Enterprize; but *he* that was at the Head of this Plot, found Means to Slur all the Evidence of it, and preſerve his Intereſt and Power againſt a *more favourable Opportunity* of doing his Work. *Remarks on Fitz Harris's Trial.*

Endeavours to ſtifle the Popiſh Plot

Life for that part he had in the Diſcovery of it: He had taken *Oates*'s Depoſitions relating to it, for which they reſolve to be reveng'd on him; and it ſeems he himſelf was apprehenſive of Danger; and ſaid to one that he believ'd he ſhould be the firſt Martyr, which fell out accordingly; for the Manner and Proof of his Murder, I refer to the Narratives printed concerning it. After he had been miſſing four Days, his Body was found in a Ditch, and in ſuch a Poſture, as to make the World believe he murder'd himſelf; his Gloves and Cane being on the Bank near him, and his own Sword run thro' his Body. The Diſcovery of the Murder was made by Mr. *Bedlove*, and confirm'd by the Confeſſion of *Miles Prance*, tho' Truſty Sir *Roger. L'Eſtrange*, often employ'd in ſuch Work, endeavours to ſlur the Evidence of his Murder, and Murder him over again in his Name and Reputation.

THE Commons however receive further Admonition and Excitation from ſo Vile a Fact, and purſue their Reſolution with the more Vigour, to preſerve the Government, if they can, out of the Hands of the *Duke*; accordingly paſs a Vote *November* 2, 1680, that the Proſpect of the Duke's Succeeding gave the greateſt Encouragement to the Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come to any untimely Death, they will revenge it on the Papiſts; and at the ſame time bring in a Bill to diſable *James* Duke of *York* to inherit the Imperial Crowns of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; after ſeveral Speeches againſt it by the *Hereditary Divine Right Men*, it paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and *November* 15, 1680. was carried up to the *Houſe of Lords*, by *William* Lord *Ruſſel*,

Ruſſel, attended by moſt of the Houſe of Commons, where 'twas thrown out by a Majority of Thirty Voices.

'TIS ſuppos'd the King was not ſo averſe to this Bill at firſt, as afterwards; but came into it, or at leaſt ſeem'd to do ſo. The favourite Miſtreſs, ſays *Welwood*, was prevail'd with, from ſecret Motives and Proſpects of her own, to concur with others in perſwading him to abandon his Brother; and it ſeems as the Parliament addreſs'd the *King* with great Earneſtneſs to paſs the Bill, ſo they offer'd him a conſiderable Sum of Money, if he would conſent to it; but the King being better bidden by another Court, whoſe Gold had been long current here, complies with the Motion, and refuſes the Bill; tho' after all, it never reach'd him, the Lords having cut it off, before 'twas offer'd to his Majeſty.

Dr. *Kennet*, the compleat Hiſtorian, takes notice, that of the Thirty Voices againſt the Bill, ſome Men were pleas'd to obſerve *Fourteen were Biſhops*. And why might not the Dr. have obſerv'd the ſame too, if he had pleas'd? He knows that this is true, and a great deal more, and that the Biſhops and Clergy were the greateſt Sticklers in this Matter. He himſelf † owns, Pag. 392.

† In another Place he ſays the Diſſenters *were odious*, not as Separatiſts from the Church, but as Enemies to the State, and *eſpecially to the Duke's Succeſſion*; and that the Churchmen were the more acceptable to the King, as Promoters of the Royal Prerogative, and Supporters of the Royal Highneſs; and in what Strain the Clergy's Addreſſes at that time generally ran, few need be inform'd. The ſame Hiſtorian gives a Sample in a Speech made to the King at *New-Market*, by the *Vice Chancellor of* Cambridge. Dr. Gower, in the Name of the Univerſity: In which, (ſays he) the moſt acceptable Words were theſe, 'We will ſtill believe and 'maintain that our Kings derive not their Title from the People, but 'from God; that to him only they are accountable, that it belongs 'not to Subjects either to create or cenſure, but to honour and obey 'their Sovereign, who comes to be ſo by a fundamental Hereditary-Right 'of Succeſſion, which no Religion, no Law, no Fault, or Forfeiture, can alter and diminiſh. *Compl. Hiſtory. Vol. 3. p. 402.*

many of the Clergy fell under Suſpicion of being Popiſhly affected, becauſe they warmly eſpous'd the Intereſt of the Court in *abhorring Petitions*, in oppoſing the Aſſociation and Excluſion-Bill; and 'tis known they ran ſo high in theſe Points, as not only to charge Rebellion upon all that were for uſing the neceſſary, and as appear'd, the only means of ſaving the Nation, but to lay 'em under the heavy Guilt of Damnation. In *Scotland* there was the ſame Zeal in the Party for the *Duke*, and a great deal of mutual careſſing, inſomuch that when the Duke was there, and was about to return into *England*, he thought proper to have *Letters* * *Teſtimonials* from the Scotch

Duke careſs'd in *Scotland*, and recommended from thence.

* *A Copy of the Teſtimonials from* Scotland *in favour of the Duke.*

Edinburgh, March 9. 1682.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

HIS Royal Highneſs having parted from hence on *Monday* laſt, being call'd by the King to attend his Majeſty at *New-Market*, we ſhould prove very defective in Duty and Gratitude, if upon this Occaſion, we ſhould forget to acknowledge to your *Grace*, how much this poor Church, and our Order, do owe to his Princely Care and Goodneſs, that his Majeſty and the worthy Biſhops of *England* may from you receive the juſt Account thereof.

'Since his Royal Highneſs's coming to this Kingdom, we find our Caſe *much chang'd to the better*, and our Church and Order, which tho' the Cunning and Power of their Adverſaries, were expos'd to extream Hazard and Contempt, *ſenſibly reliev'd and reſcu'd*; which, next to the watchful Providence of God, that mercifully ſuperintends his Church, we can aſcribe to nothing ſo much, *as to his Royal Highneſs's gracious owning and vigilant Protection of us.*

'Upon all Occaſions, he gives freſh Inſtances of his eminent Zeal *againſt the moſt unreaſonable Schiſm*, which by renting, threatens the Subverſion of our Church and Religion; and concerns himſelf as a Patron to us in all our Publick, and even Perſonal Intereſts; ſo that all Men take Notice of his ſignal Kindneſs to us, and obſerve that he looks upon the Enemies of the Church, as Adverſaries to the Monarchy it ſelf; nor did we ever propoſe or offer to his Royal Highneſs any rational Expedient, which might conduce to the Relief or Security of the Church, which he did not readily embrace and effectuate.

'The Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom, is the Effect of his prudent and ſteady Conduct of Affairs, and the Humours of our

Biſhops

Bishops, directed to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which were immediately sent after him; and towards the end of *April*, were publish'd by Authority: The Design of which was undoubtedly to strengthen the Duke's Interest, and enliven the Zeal of his Party against the House of Commons, and others that oppos'd his Succession. And it was upon the same Occasion (*viz.* to serve the excellent Purpose of filling the Throne with a Popish Prince) that the *Oxford Decree* was made; in which not only Passive-Obedience, but Indefeasible Hereditary Right, has all the Sanction that famous University could give it, and all such as would fain believe, if they might, that they were not born Slaves, are laid under their Anathema. I shan't presume to make any Reflections upon this Decree; but having so good Authority as Dr. *Kennet*'s, may observe, 'That at the Revolution, 'it should have been openly adher'd to, or *as* 'openly retracted and condemned; whereas they 'contradict it in their apparent Practice, without any Reversal of it, only the printed Copies are taken away from the Halls, and other 'publick Places, where they had before hung in 'Triumph.' I'm sorry, if it be true, as is said, that it's now return'd to its Place of Triumph, there to dispute Authority with an Act of Parliament. But the Jest *on't is* (and it can't be impertinent here to remark it) that after this Set of Men had preach'd and voted the *Duke* into

Oxford Decree.

'*wicked Fanaticks* are much restrain'd from dangerous Eruptions, upon 'their Apprehensions of his Vigilance and Justice; for they dread nothing so much as to see him upon the Head of his Majesty's Councils, and 'Forces against them. We hope your Grace will make our dutiful Acknowledgments to his Royal Highness, for all his Princely Favours to us; 'and give him the most firm Assurance of our sincere Endeavours to serve 'him, and of our most fervent Prayers for his Temporal and Eternal 'Happiness, as the bounden Duty of, &c.

the

the Throne, they desert him, and help to pull him down again. His Title they make Divine, and his Power irrresistible and absolute in spite of the Constitution; and yet afterwards, fall upon him with Sword and Pistol. If any ask the Meaning of this strange Conduct, I know no better Answer, that is true, can be given than this; that they were for having him *King*, whilst they thought him *for their Purpose*, and for complimenting him with *excessive Power*, whilst they expected it should be us'd for them, and against others; but when they saw themselves herein disappointed, and he begins to stretch forth his Hand, and touch them, then farewell the Doctrine of Non-Resistance; *They'll rather venture Damnation in the next World, than be undone in this!*

IN the mean time, the Contest continu'd about the Succession, and in that was involv'd the Fate of *Britain*. The Parliament struck at the Duke time after time; but the King was stanch to his Interest; the Lords espous'd him, especially the Bishops, and the Clergy thunder dreadful Anathema's against his Phanatick Opposers; so that the *Duke* had reason to hope well, and to expect to carry all at length, as he did; only there was one popular Prejudice, which must be remov'd, *viz.. the Popish Plot*, to which Purpose he sets himself to slur the Evidence of it; and, to make sure Work, to turn it upon the Dissenters and Whigs; and in this Service also, a Party of the more violent Clergy were concern'd, as is well known, Sir *John Hawles* taking Notice of this (that the Clergy of the Church of *England* had been prevail'd with to cry up the Popish as a Fanatick Plot) and apologising for them, imputes it to a sort of Sympathy between them and some other Folks. 'The *Papists*, says he,

The Popish Plot run down.

and

'*and the Church of England*, being in the late 'Times equally Sufferers by the *Fanaticks*, *they* '*naturally* grew to have a Kindneſs for each other; 'and both join'd in hating the Fanaticks, and 'therefore *pretended at leaſt*, that they did not 'know any thing of the Plot, but that the Re- 'port was given out by the *Fanaticks*, whilſt 'they themſelves were deſigning ſomething a- 'gainſt the Church..

But becauſe ſome might give their Attendance at *Coffee-houſes*, that are not at leiſure always to come to Church, Sir *Roger* is ſet at work to ridicule the Plot in his Papers; for which, and other Services, he was thought fit to deſerve a Penſion, and was kept in conſtant Pay: So that this Gentleman made it plain enough, there was no *Popiſh Plot*, but a dangerous Presbyterian Plot there was, which *Coke* tells us was prov'd by leaving Papers of a Plot in the Lodgings of the principal Perſons concern'd in diſcovering the Popiſh Plot; and then ſearching their Houſes (for they that hide can find) they proceeded againſt them upon the Evidence of thoſe Papers. One of the firſt Attempts was made upon Colonel *Manſel*, who being examin'd before the Attorney General, Sir *William Jones*, was acquited by him, he giving in a moſt perverſe diſloyal Report, *viz. That Colonel Manſel was innocent, and that this was a Deſign of the Papiſts to lay the Plot upon the Diſſenters, and a further Proof of a Popiſh Plot:* But to be ſure ſuch Affronts muſt not go unpuniſh'd; for this Sir *William* is turn'd out of his Place.

TO ſpeak or write againſt Popery, or ſo much as mention the Popiſh Plot, unleſs 'twas to exclaim againſt Fanatick Villany in contriving it, was Criminal. Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* is made Licenſer of the Preſs, and nothing muſt paſs but what was for the Purpoſe. The *Weekly Pacquet of*

Advice

Advice from Rome; or the *History of Popery*, is forbid by an Order of Court from the Court of *King's-Bench*, and the Author arraign'd and sentenc'd for Printing *Illicite*, or without Licence; and that they might raſe the Memory of former Things, the *Fifth of November Anniverſary* grows out of Requeſt; the popular Rejoycings on that Day ſuppreſs'd. and ſeveral in *London* were fin'd and pillory'd for getting together and rejoycing in the uſual manner, under the Notion of Rioters.

AND now little remain'd to compleat the Deſtruction ſo long deſign'd. The King grew weary of Parliaments, finding that as ſoon as one was diſmiſs'd and another call'd, they ſtill purſu'd the old Game, and went on to hunt the Royal Brother, which ſo far diſguſted his Majeſty, that he ſeem'd inclin'd to have done with ſuch troubleſome Aſſemblies; and we know that there were ſome, that to help forward the ſpeedy and utter Ruin of their Country, were ready to compliment the King with their Addreſſes of Abhorrence, *i. e.* they abhorr'd petitioning for Parliaments, *&c.* So that henceforth the Work goes ſmoothly on, having none to ſtand in their way, and give them a Rub; the Diſſenters are worried, and, to uſe the Words of Dr. *Welwood*, 'Whole Peals of Anathema's were rung out a-'gainſt thoſe Patriots that had ſtood up for the 'Liberties of their Country in the preceding 'Parliament; it was look'd upon as a Crime 'againſt the State for any to regret the ap-'proaching Fate of his Country. In ſome Places 'a new kind of Funeral Harangues came in 'faſhion; our Laws, our Liberties, our Parlia-'ments, our native Rights were to be bury'd; 'but inſtead of dropping a Tear over 'em, ful-'ſome Panegyricks were made upon the Mur-

'derers

derers, and Curſes denounced againſt thoſe that would have retriev'd 'em from Deſtruction.

THERE were indeed during this State-Tragedy, ſome bold and brave Men, that durſt open their Mouth and ſpeak in behalf of their ſinking Liberties and Religion, particularly the renown'd Mr. *Johnſon*, who at that time wrote his *Julian*, with an Account of *Julian*'s Life, and a Parallel between *Popery and Paganiſm*, in which he ſufficiently expoſes the abſurd Doctrine of Paſſive-Obedience; and being anſwer'd by Dr. *Hicks*, in his *Jovian*, defends what he wrote, tho' he ſuppreſs'd it for a time: But he muſt anſwer for his *Julian*, and indeed is treated as *a very Apoſtate*, being, after a ſort of a Tryal, ſentenc'd to pay five hundred Marks, to find Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Year, that he ſhould be committed Priſoner to the *King's-Bench* till the Fine was paid, and his Book be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

ONE Piece of Work further ſeem'd to lie upon their Hand, and that was to humble the City, who had very ſaucily ſtood upon their Privileges in the Choice of their Sheriffs, and to new model the other Corporations: To which purpoſe, they reſolve to take away their *Charter*, whereby the Court not only had the making of a Common Hall, but an Houſe of Commons in a great meaſure. Theſe Charters were the Things that now ſtood in the way of an abſolute Government; and it was reſolv'd to break thro' this Barrier, in order to which *Quo Warranto*'s were brought againſt them, and in Progreſs of Time, they were either ſurrender'd by the Corporations themſelves, or vacated in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by a Set of Judges pick'd out for that purpoſe.

Quo Warranto's againſt Charters.

AND

AND now in this Extremity of things, when there was ſcarce one Plank left to ſwim to the Shore on, it would ſeem ſome Patriots, and zealous Lovers of their Country, that beheld with Concern its gaſping, dying Liberties, diſcourſe and conſult about Meaſures to be taken; not to deſtroy the King, as was falſly pretended, but to preſerve him; and reſcue the Government out of the Hands of a prevailing Popiſh Faction, who were preparing in all haſte to ruin the Nation, and divide the Spoil among themſelves. The Earl of *Eſſex* was one of this Number, and being accus'd of Plotting, was immediately taken up, and committed to the *Tower*, where he was found dead with his Throat cut by a Razor; who did the Work, is not known: One Circumſtance was talk'd of at that Time, that the *King and Duke of York*, who had not been in the *Tower* for fifteen Years, were there that very Day, tho' it may be, it was only to carry the Razor, with which they ſay the Earl cut his own Throat. The brave Lord *Ruſſel* dies at the ſame time, and by the ſame Hands, not for contriving a Plot againſt the King, but for proſecuting with ſo much Zeal thoſe that had been herein guilty.

Ruſſel, Sidney, and other great Patriots were ſacrific'd.

ALGERNON † *Sidney* fell next; part of his Crime was for writing a treaſonable Libel, to ſtir

† The following Verſes, containing the chief Cauſe for which not only this great Man, but others ſuffer'd at that Time, it may be excuſable to add them, tho' otherwiſe mean.

ALgernon Sidney *fills this Tomb,*
An Atheiſt for diſdaining Rome;
A Rebel bold, for ſtriving ſtill
To keep the Laws above the Will:
Crimes damn'd by Church and Government,
Alas! where muſt his Ghoſt be ſent;
Of Heaven it cannot but deſpair,
If holy Pope be Turn-Key there;
And Hell it ne'er muſt entertain,
For there is all Tyrannick Reign,
Where goes it then? Where't ought to go,
Where Pope nor Devil have to do.

up Rebellion in the Nation, having for that purpose dispers'd it all over his Closet). 'And 'thus says *Wellwood*, some of the noblest Blood 'of the Nation was offer'd up Sacrifice to the 'Manes of Popish Martyrs; and made to attone 'for the Bill of Exclusion; Swearing came once 'more into Fashion, and a New Evidence-Office 'was erected at *White-Hall*; but whereas the 'Witnesses of the Popish Plot were Brow-beaten 'and Discourag'd; those of the Protestant Plot 'were highly encourag'd, and instead of Judges 'and Juries that ~~might~~ might Boggle at Half-'Evidence, care was taken to pick out such as 'would stick at nothing to serve a Turn.' And 'tis said the Lord *Howard* as he was a forward Evidence against those Gentlemen, so he was oblig'd to it; the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* having reconcil'd him to the Court, upon Condition he should go thro' the Drudgery of Swearing, and upon this Encouragement, he soon became as Sir *John Hawles* calls him, *a Thorough-Pac'd Evidence.*

AND this was the Issue of the *Popish Plot*; by which 'tis plain it attain'd its End in a great Measure; for tho' the King yet lives, his Government dies, the Enemies of the Duke are disgrac'd and murder'd, and he secures his Succession.

SEVERAL besides these that suffer immediately, were appointed to Destruction, and are reckon'd with as soon as the Duke found his way to the Throne: In the mean while the Odium of all this is cast upon the Dissenters, who were not only branded for Rebels and Villains in a Multitude of Addresses presented to the King; but, says the *Compleat Historian*, severely Arraign'd by the King himself, in a Solemn Form of Declaration, to all his loving Subjects; which

The Odium of the Popish Plot cast on Dissenters.

was

was appointed to be read in all Churches and Chappels within the Kingdom; wherein is inſerted a particular Account of the * *Rye-Houſe* Plot, and the Names of the Conſpirators; and in which manner they were to accompliſh the Death of the King and his Brother; and this being publiſh'd throughout the Nation, inrag'd unthinking People againſt the Diſſenters to that Degree, that 'tis wonder they did not meet with what *Cain* fear'd as his Puniſhment, *that every Body that found them ſhould ſlay them.* It wrought however pretty well, rais'd a general Out-cry, and fill'd the Jails with theſe Black Criminals.

THERE would not to be ſure want Inſtruments for perſecuting *Diſſenters*, or carrying on any other Work the Government had to do; But the beſt qualified of all the reſt was Sir *G. Jefferies*: This Gentleman was prefer'd among ſeveral others by King *Charles*, when there was ſpecial Occaſion for ſuch Tools of Lawyers; and never did Man better anſwer the Deſign of his Advancement than *this ſame Jefferies*; neither regarding Law, Reaſon, or Conſcience, when he had the Intereſt of the Court to promote, and ſuch to Cruſh, as he in his Rage, would call Rebels or Fanaticks.

* Dr. *Kennet* taking Notice of thoſe Plots, ſays in the Words of a late Writer, 'That moſt looked upon the *Presbyterian Plot*, as a Contri-'vance to Baffle the Popiſh; many of the Conſpirators were Executed 'in King *Charles*'s Time; and the Court being reſolved to Proſecute the reſt; the Eloquent Pen of Dr. *Sp——t*, Biſhop of *R——* was induſtriouſly ſet to work to Varniſh over the Flaws of *Keeling* and other Witneſſes Depoſitions——The Au-'thor adds, However as Affairs were managed, a Re-'mance was as fit to ſerve the Court as a true Hiſtory.

Vid. *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, *Vol.* III. *p.* 442.

BUT

BUT I need ſay nothing of his Conduct; the Man and his Manners are known, and will be remembred for this Generation at leaſt; only one Inſtance I ſhall relate, it not being taken Notice of elſewhere. As he was making his Circuit in the North, calling for Vengeance where-ever he came, and taking it where he could againſt the Diſſenters, he came to *Newcaſtle upon Tine* at the Aſſizes, 1683. and being inform'd of a Company of young Plotters and Rebels, as they were reſolv'd to make them, ſets himſelf with his uſual Zeal to ſuppreſs them. The Caſe in ſhort was this.

The *Newcaſtle* young Men imprison'd for Praying.

A Number of young Men in the Town of *Newcaſtle* (about 20) met together once a Week for mutual Aſſiſtance and Improvement in Religion; for which purpoſe they ſpent ſome time in Prayer and Conference; having ſubſcrib'd a Paper containing Rules, for the better ordering ſuch a Society, and the Work to be done in it; taken out of a Book of Mr. *Iſaac Ambroſe's*: One of the Society, upon what Inducement he beſt knows, turns Informer, and having a Copy of this dangerous Paper, with the Names of the Subſcribers, makes a Diſcovery, and the whole Matter was laid before *Judge Jefferies* at the Aſſizes; by which it appear'd to his Lordſhip that about twenty young Phanaticks met together weekly to Pray and Talk about Religion, *&c.* his Lordſhip, whoſe Buſineſs lay as much with ſuch as theſe, as with Felons, *&c.* reſolv'd to make Examples of them. When he was prepar'd to proceed againſt them, he order'd the Doors of the Court to be lock'd up, and kept lock'd, till ſuch of the young Men as were in Court were ſecur'd; and at the ſame time diſpatch'd the Sheriff with the proper Officers to Apprehend the reſt; the Doors being ſtill kept clos'd, which

made no ſmall Noiſe and ſtir in the Town. His Lordſhip as his Manner was, began to breath out Threatning againſt the Diſſenters; and whereas ſome of the Elder of them, with whom his Lordſhip would have taken an Occaſion to have talked, were withdrawn from the Town; he ſaid, *He would take the Cubs, and that would make the Old Foxes appear.*

THE Offenders (ſome of whom are found in Court, and others of them brought in by the Sheriff) are preſented before his Lordſhip's Tribunal: Such as know his Lordſhip's Character, will eaſily imagine (and ſome well remember it) with how much Indignation and Contempt he would look down upon theſe young Men. One of them, Mr. *Thomas Verner*, who had but a mean Aſpect at beſt (and the Work he was taken from made him appear at that time meaner than ordinary) his Lordſhip was pleas'd to ſingle out to Queſtion to triumph over his Ignorance, and thereby expoſe all the reſt. Can you read, Sirrah, ſays he? Yes my Lord, anſwers Mr. *Verner*; reach him the Book, ſays the Judge; the Clerk reaches him his Latin Teſtament; the young Man begins to read *Mat.* 7. 1. 2. (it being the firſt Place his Eye lit upon, without any Deſign in him, as he affirm'd afterwards) *Ne judicate ne judicemini, &c.* Conſtrue it, Sirrah, ſays the Judge; which he did: *Judge not, leſt ye be judged for with what Judgment ye Judge, ye ſhall be judged*: Upon which 'tis ſaid, his Lordſhip was a little ſtruck, and ſet in a Pauſe for ſome while (and he had Occaſion, me-thinks, to Pauſe more upon it in the *Tower* a few years after).

THE Iſſue of the Matter in ſhort was that the young Men, tho' never tried, were ſent to Jail, where they lay above a Year) *i.e.* from the Aſſizes in 1683. till the firſt Aſſizes at

the Death of King *Charles*) when they were call-ed upon and ſet at Liberty, with this Repri-mand by the Judge, *Go and Sin no more, leſt a worſe thing come unto you*; adding that the King's coming to the Throne, had ſav'd all their Lives.

HOW they came to eſcape the Trial, which the Judge ſaid he would bring them to, is not very certain; 'tis ſaid the Reaſon was, want of time: However, it was a good Providence to the young Men, for had he proceeded againſt them, it had been much if they had come off with their Lives. The Crime charg'd upon them was no leſs than High Treaſon, and a Jury was provi-ded that would have anſwer'd his Lordſhip's Ex-pectations, and follow'd his Directions: One of the Jury being asked what they intended to do with the young Men, anſwer'd, there remain'd nothing for them (the Jury) to do, but to bring them in Guilty, for that a Paper produc'd in Court, and acknowledg'd by themſelves to be ſubſcrib'd by them, was by the Lord Chief Juſtice declar'd to be *High Treaſon*; ſo that if they had been tried, it had been for *High Treaſon*; and 'tis known his Lordſhip ſeldom ſaw Cauſe to ac-quit any ſuch Traitors as theſe.

NOR were the Diſſenters only run down, tho' they were mark'd for peculiar Infamy and Hard-ſhips; all the reſt of the Nation, *beſides Papiſts and Tories* were branded as Fanaticks, and treat-ed accordingly; for any to oppoſe the Tyranny of the Times, favour the Bill of Excluſion, ſpeak againſt the Duke, or appear in the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, was almoſt the ſame thing, as formerly wearing a Faggot to the Lollards. In this Cauſe Multitudes ſuffer'd; ſome Fines and Impriſonments, and others Death. Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* was Fin'd Ten Thouſand Pound,

Barnardi-ſton, Dutton Colt, &c. unreaſona-bly Fin'd.

Alderman *Wright* imprison'd, *Dutton Colt* Fin'd an Hundred Thousand Pounds, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* Executed at *Tyburn*; Mr. *Roswell*, a Dissenting Minister, was Arraign'd for High Treason and found Guilty; indeed the last Year of the King's Life was almost wholly imploy'd in such Work. The Worthy Grand Jury of *Westminster* deserves to be remembred for a notable Presentment exactly to the Gust of the Times, *viz.* That all those that were for the Bill of Exclusion should be Prosecuted, and all Conventicles, *&c.*

AND this was the bleeding State of the Nation under King *Charles* II. This was the Improvement he made of all his Sufferings, and the Experience he sometimes, at his first coming to the Crown, talk'd of as learnt thereby. What his Religion really was, whether *Deist*, *Papist*, *or Nothing*, is not to our Purpose to enquire; but 'tis certain his Reign was Popish enough; and some have thought he came under Engagements when Abroad, to favour the Catholick Cause, if ever he was restor'd. 'Tis believ'd, says my Lord *Clarendon*, that in the *Pyrenean* Treaty, something was agreed, *viz.* by King *Charles* with the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*) to the Prejudice of the Protestant Interest which the compleat History supposes to be no less than to Establish Popery, or at least tolerate it, setting an Example in his own Person; when he came to die he receiv'd *extream Unction* from *Huddleston* the Priest; whether he desired it, I can't say; and we know after his Death, his Brother endeavour'd to convince the Nation of his being a Papist, by publishing two Papers taken out of the strong Box, implying as much.

IT seems a little before his Death, he began to awake out of his Security, became thoughtful about retrieving things, if possible: 'Tis said, discoursing of the desperate Condition of his Affairs, he complain'd how much he had been abus'd, and took Occasion to say, that if he liv'd a Month longer, he would find a Way to make himself easy the rest of his Life; this he spoke with some warmth; and 'tis suppos'd his Design was to send the Duke of *York* Abroad, call Home * *Monmouth*, call a New Parliament; and pursue quite different Measures from what he had done.

K. *Charles* thinks of changing his Measures.

BUT these Resolutions came too late; the Duke of *York* and his Creatures presently got Knowledge of the King's Discourse, and thought it high time to bestir themselves to prevent the Mischief and Disappointment that threatned them, and therefore forthwith prepare the King *for the last Anointing*; so that on the 6th of *February* 1684. in the midst of his usual Health, he makes his Exit; and leaves the Throne to his impatient Brother; and the Nation under the Plague of a

He is hastned into another World.

* *Monmouth* was now in *Holland*, whither the Duke of *York*'s Displeasure had forced him. The King still followed him with Marks of that warm Affection that he always bore towards him, tho' often dissembled; he furnished him with Money, sent him kind Messages, wrote to him with his own Hand, and was now resolved to bring him to Court. This the Duke of *Monmouth*, himself takes notice of in his Journal, *January* 5, says he, I received a Letter from *L.*——marked by twenty nine, (*i. e.* the King) that in *February*, I should certainly have leave to return. *February* 3, I had a Letter from *L*—— that my Business was almost done, but must be so sudden, as not to leave room for 39's, (*i. e.* the Duke of *York*'s) Party to Counter-plot; In the mean time the Duke of *York* was to be sent away, which it was supposed the King had intimated to him; so that there was like to be a speedy Revolution at Court, a Change of Counsels and Counsellors, which the Duke and his Creatures to be sure would not easily bear; and 'tis very probable, the New Project was all the Distemper King *Charles* had in his Head, and the *real Apoplexy* of which he died.

Popiſh Prince, as a Puniſhment of their own Choice and Folly.

K *James* goes openly to Maſs, firſt Lord's Day after his Acceſſion.

THE Reader needs not be ſurpriz'd when I tell him, that plotting againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and *Britiſh* Liberties, was now very much at an End. The thing to be done in *this*, was to execute Plots of *former Reigns*, and accompliſh what they had been ſo long preparing. King *James* immediately after the Death of his Brother, the next Lord's Day, *went openly* to Maſs, thereby proclaiming to all the World what it was a Crime to whiſper a little before. Indeed ſome even of the Papiſts thought this not over Politick, it was however fair Warning to the Proteſtants what they muſt expect.

BUT tho' King *James* was willing thus to own himſelf a Papiſt, and paſs for ſuch among his Subjects; he endeavours ſo far to impoſe upon them, as to make them believe he would take care of the Proteſtant Religion, a thing impoſſible, and inconſiſtent with what he profeſs'd; for nothing is more certain, than that every Catholick Prince, is bound by all that's Sacred, even upon Penalty of Damnation, *to deſtroy Heretick*; and root out *Hereſy*, out of his Dominions: An Omiſſion of what the Church has made Duty herein, will bring a Prince under the *Anathema* of the *Fourth Lateran Council*, and the Council of *Conſtantine*: It has ruin'd many a one in this World, and they ſay, will Damn him in the next. All this, to be ſure, King *James* knew well enough; the *Jeſuits* the conſtant Directors of his Conſcience, would not ſuffer him to be ignorant of it, and the Event ſhows he was true to the Principles of Religion he had eſpous'd, and that he acted according to the Reſolution he's ſaid to have taken, *viz. Either to Convert* England *to Popery or die a Martyr.*

NOT

NOTWITHSTANDING he thought fit to conceal his real Intentions (I may call them ſolemn Obligations) to extirpate Hereſy for a time, and therefore the Day King *Charles* died, he meets the Council, and makes the following Declaration:

My Lords,

K. *James* promiſes he will maintain the Proteſtant Religion, &c.

BEfore I enter upon any Buſineſs, I think fit to ſay ſomething to you: Since it has pleas'd Almighty God to place me in this Station, and I am now to ſucceed ſo good and gracious a King, as well as ſo very kind a Brother; I think it fit to declare to you, That I will endeavour to follow his Example, and moſt eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, but that is not the only Story that has been made of Me; and I ſhall make it my Endeavour to preſerve this Government, both in Church and State, *as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd. I know the Principles of the Church of* England *are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have ſhewn themſelves Good and Loyal Subjects; therefore, I ſhall always take Care to* Defend and Support it. *I know too, that the Laws of* England *are ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wiſh: And as I ſhall never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogative of the Crown, ſo* I ſhall never Invade any Man's Property. *I have often heretofore ventur'd my Life in Defence of this Nation, and I ſhall ſtill go as far as any Man in preſerving it,* in all its juſt Rights and Liberties.

THESE good Words, deſign'd to blind the Eyes of a Credulous People, and continue their Deluſion upon them, were repeated to his Parliament in *May* following, when he tells them

he chose to give them this Assurance concerning the Care he would take of Religion and Property, in the words he us'd when he first came to the Crown, the better to Evidence to you, says he, that I spoke them not *by chance*, and consequently you may *firmly* rely upon a Promise so Solemnly made. But who could *firmly* rely upon the Promise, that knows 'tis Lawful to make any Promises to *Hereticks on purpose to deceive them*; and that 'tis not only Lawful, but Duty, to break those Solemn Promises when made; nay, that 'tis a damnable Sin not to do it. And yet unhappy Nation! How were all sorts of People Cajolled and Cheated with Words of Vanity?

IN another Speech, a few Days after, he goes further, and tells them; 'He had a *true English* 'Heart, as Jealous of the Honour of the Nation, 'as theirs could be: and that he pleas'd himself 'with the Hopes that with the Blessing of God, 'and the Parliaments Assistance, he might carry 'the Reputation of it higher in the World than 'ever it had been in the time of his Ancestors.' And now the work is done, all Hearts are gain'd, and the whole Nation almost falls at his Feet: Nay, it seems, the *French* Court was struck with this unexpected Language, in so much, that a great Minister there, presently writes to their Ambassador in *England*, signifying to him, that the King's Speech afforded sufficient Matter of Thought with them, being in a Strain that lookt *quite contrary* to what they expected: Adding, 'If he and his Parliament come to a Cordial 'Trust one of another, it may probably change 'all the Measures we have been *so long* concerting, for the Glory of our Monarch and the 'Establishing the Catholick Religion.' It seems they suspected the King would begin to consult his

his own Safety and Honour, and endeavour to oblige a People, that were many of them so justly Jealous of him: But they were afraid, where no Fear was, King *James* had thoroughly imbib'd the *Jesuits* Principles, and gave abundant Proof he understood the infamous Maxim his Grandfather us'd to repeat, and indeed practise as much as any Man in the World, *Qui nescit dissimulare Nescit Regnare*; he's not fit for a King that can't dissemble.

BUT let's a little enquire into this Matter; see how King *James* perform'd in the Particulars mention'd. We heard what he promis'd, *viz.* To Govern with great Clemency and Tenderness to his People; to preserve the Government both in Church and State, and to Invade no Man's Property; and how well he did this, let the Transactions of his whole Reign Witness; let many Thousands of the present Age tell; and let faithful Annals tell it to Posterity, *as a Caution how they ever any more trust the Word and Promise of a Popish King.*

Monmouth's Imprecation and Fall with the Sufferings of his Adherents.

MONMOUTH's Rebellion (who was King *Charles*'s Natural Son by Mrs. *Walter*, unless as many thought, he was Married to her, and a very great Favourite of that Prince,) gave King *James* one of the first Opportunities of shewing his Mercy. This Gentleman after King *Charles*'s Death, expecting no Favour at the *English* Court, continues Abroad, and retiring from the World, betakes himself to a more studious Course of Life than formerly; but was prevail'd with by the earnest Sollicitation and Entreaty of some warm and zealous Protestants that were loath to stand by and see their Country sink, to undertake its Rescue, which he did (very unseasonably to be sure) and as is known, miscarry'd and perish'd in the Attempt.

NOW

NOW call this Rebellion, or any thing elſe; the Methods of Proſecution King *James* took, were ſuch as very much leſſen'd the Character of his *Clemency*; His admitting *Monmouth* into his Preſence, when he was reſolv'd to Sacrifice him, look'd like triumphing over his Miſery. This Piece of Conduct, ſays *Wellwood*, was an Exception againſt a general Rule, inviolably obſerv'd among *Kings never to allow a Criminal under Sentence of Death the Sight of his Princes's Face, without a Deſign to Pardon him*; but 'twas done, its thought, to gratify the Queen's Malice, and give her an Opportunity to Inſult him; which ſhe did unmercifully. The unhappy Man was immediately hurried from his Majeſty's Preſence to the *Tower*, and two Days after to the Scaffold; where, a little before his Execution, he deliver'd a Paper declaring, he died in the Faith of this, *That God would work a Deliverance for his People*; and then will be diſcover'd, ſays he, the great horrid and ſcarce to be parallel'd Villanies our Enemies have been Guilty of; adding, that he died a Martyr for the People, and with the like Perſwaſion of Deliverance coming, many others died that ſuffer'd with him in the ſame Cauſe. Captain *Anſley* was not the only Perſon that ſpoke to this effect, *viz.* 'That he did not repent of what he had 'done; adding, 'Tho' it hath pleaſed the wiſe 'God for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, now 'to blaſt our Deſigns, yet he will deliver his 'People by ways we think not of.'

THE Head of the Rebellion being taken off, they proceed againſt the Accomplices, 'And 'tho' Wiſe and Good Princes (to uſe the words 'of an Ingenious Writer) content themſelves on 'ſuch Occaſions with puniſhing the Ring-leaders

History of K. *William*, Vol. I. p. 168.

'and

'and some few Adherents; now by a Barbarity 'not to be parallell'd in the Reigns of *Nero*, '*Caligula*, and the most celebrated Tyrants; 'not only those who had been actually in Arms 'with the Duke of *Monmouth*, but even those 'who had *any way assisted*, or so much as har-'bour'd them (whether they could help it or 'not) were equally involv'd in the Crime of his 'Insurrection. Posterity will hardly believe the 'Cruelties committed by the Lord Chief Justice '*Jefferies*, who with four other Judges his Assist-'ants, and a Body of Troops commanded by '*Kirk*, was sent into the West of *England* with 'a Special Commission to Try the Poor Wretches.

HOW they Executed their Commission, there is related by many Histories, more particularly than I can pretend to do here. 'Tis said, that this Infamous Judge (*Jefferies*) condemn'd above five Hundred Persons in a few Towns of the *West*, whereof 229 were Executed; some found the Benefit, I can't say of the King's Mercy, but the Judges Avarice, who was ready enough to grant a Pardon to such as could pay well for it; and it seems Pardons were Sold *by him* at all sorts of Prices, from 10 *l.* to 14000 Guineas, which last Sum this *Judge of Iniquity* did not scruple to take from Mr *Sp*———*s*, and with which he bought an Estate, that may be justly call'd *the Field of Blood.* When he came to *Dorchester*, he contriv'd a Notable Stratagem to Dispatch thirty Prisoners that were accus'd of Assisting the Duke of *Monmouth*; he told them whoever pleaded not Guilty, and were found otherwise, should have little time to live; and if any expected Favour they must plead Guilty; by which means many were decoy'd, and drawn to Plead

Guilty

Guilty, whom he Condemn'd out of their own Mouth.

SOME Circumſtances of this Britiſh Man's Proceedings, are peculiar; an extream Old Woman, Mrs. *Liſle*, was Try'd for concealing Mr. *Hicks*, a Nonconformiſt Miniſter (in no Proclamation) and one Mr. *Nelthrop*, a Stranger to her; and tho' the Jury brought her in three times not Guilty, the Judge hector'd them out of their Conſciences, and the poor Gentlewoman out of her Life; ſo at laſt they were forc'd to Change their Verdict, and make her Guilty of High Treaſon; for which, ſhe was Beheaded. The *Taunton Virgins* that only flouriſh'd Colours for *Monmouth*, were forc'd to buy their Pardons, at fifty, forty, thirty Pounds, *&c.* a piece: Some 'tis ſaid, ſuffer'd for carrying in their Waggons the Duke's Baggage, *tho' conſtrain'd* to it. A Conſtable was hang'd for Executing *Monmouth*'s Warrant, which he was commanded to do. And another poor Man for ſelling three Pennyworth of Hay for his Horſe.

BESIDES the Capital Puniſhments, ſeveral were Condemn'd to be Whipt, of which Number was Mr. *John Tutchin*. It ſeems he eſcap'd the Fate he expected (Hanging) by changing his Name; which when *Jefferies* underſtood, he caus'd him to be brought before him again, after he had diſmiſs'd and acquitted him; and having rail'd at him, as his Manner was, he ſentenc'd him to remain in Priſon ſeven Years, and once every Year to be Whipt thro' all the Towns in *Dorceſterſhire*: One preſent, ſignify'd to his Lordſhip, that there were a great many Towns in the County, and that the Sentence would amount to a Whipping about once a Fortnight; adding, and he's a very young Man? *Ay ſays* Jefferies, *he's a young Man, but he's an old Rogue*; and

and all the Intereſt in *England* ſhan't reverſe the Sentence I've paſt upon him; upon which Mr. *Tutchin* Petitions the King to grant him the Favour to be hang'd with the reſt of his Fellow-Priſoners.

AND theſe were ſome of the Triumphs of that Bloody Man: Indeed King *James*'s Friends, to take off from him the Infamy of ſuch Proceedings, pretended that he ſhow'd his Diſlike of them; but I know not which way, unleſs by making *Jefferies* the Author of them, Lord High Chancellor of *England*; upon his Return, and that in Conſideration, as 'twas expreſs'd, of the many Eminent and Faithful Services he had render'd the Crown, as well in the late King's time, as ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion.

I ſhall only take Notice, that tho' *Jefferies* gloried in what he had done, yet Colonel *Kirk* put in for part of the Honour of this Service: One Circumſtance may ſerve for a Taſte of the Man. Upon the Day appointed for the Execution of ſome of his Priſoners, he invites the Officers to Dinner, and for their Entertainment, *Orders ten of the Priſoners to be turn'd off the Ladder, with an Health to the King; ten in an Health to the Queen, and ten in an Health to* Jefferies; and when the Inhumanity of this, and other of his Executions, were complain'd of; he excus'd himſelf, and ſaid, he did nothing but by expreſs Order from the King and his General.

THIS work being diſpatch'd, King *James* is at leiſure to reckon with ſome of his Old Friends, ſuch as had ſtood in his way, and diſoblig'd him in the Matter of the Popiſh Plot, *&c.* in the former Reign. He begins with *Titus Oates*, who was Try'd for a Double Perjury in the Evidence he had given about the Plot, and receiv'd the following Sentence:

That

Oats, Dangerfield, Johnson, &c. Sufferings.

That he be diveſted of his Canonical Robes for ever; That on Tueſday *he ſtand in the Pillory before the* Royal Exchange; *That on* Wedneſday *he be Whip'd from* Aldgate *to* Newgate *by the Common Hang-man; and on* Friday *following from* Newgate *to* Tyburn: *That he ſtand in the Pillory five Times (on the Days mention'd) every Year; That he pay a Fine of a Thouſand Marks for each Perjury, and remain in Priſon during Life.*

THE Sentence was punctually put in Execution, on *Wedneſday* he was Whip'd, or rather Flay'd, the Hang-man being Fee'd to do his Work thoroughly; and on *Friday* the dreadful Gaſhes made in his Back two Days before were open'd by the ſecond Whipping; which, tho' it muſt have been almoſt intolerable, was thought to be a Means of ſaving his Life. On *June* 28, 1685. the ſame Year, *Dangerfield* was Sentenc'd for his Narrative that he publiſh'd; by which he made it appear, 'That the *Presbyterian Plot* 'was nothing but a Contrivance of the Papiſts 'to conceal their own Plot againſt the King and 'Government, and to throw it upon the Pres-'byterians: For this he was Fin'd five Hundred Pounds, Whip'd from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; and in his Return from *Tyburn*, was run into the Eye by a Papiſt, with a Tuck at the end of a Cane; of which he died. Sometime after *Miles Prance* was Sentenc'd and Puniſh'd, Fin'd and Whip'd as Perjur'd in the Evidence he brought about Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*: Alderman *Corniſh* was Condemn'd for High Treaſon, for having engag'd to aſſiſt *Monmouth*, &c. But, ſays one juſtly, 'The true Reaſon of this Proſecuti-'on was, that Mr. *Corniſh*, when Sheriff of *Lon-'don*, had been very active againſt the Popiſh

'Con-

'Conſpirators; ſo that now his Blood muſt ex-
'piate his Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion.

MR. *Johnſon*, that we mention'd before, and left Suffering, is now call'd over the Coals again, and has his Back plough'd by the King's Order; after he had been degraded by the Biſhop of *Durham* and others of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; his great Offence was the Zeal and Boldneſs he had ſhown in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion; and particularly his Addreſs to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in King *James*'s Army; for this he's Sentenc'd to ſtand three times in the Pillory, to pay a Fine of five Hundred Marks, and to be Whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, which was Executed with much Severity. 'Tis ſaid a Mercenary Prieſt offer'd to beg off the latter part of the Sentence (the Whipping) for two Hundred pounds but could not prevail with the King who anſwer'd, *Since Mr. Johnſon has the Spirit of Martyrdom, it was fit he ſhould ſuffer.*

IT would be too large to relate all the Paſſages of this kind, what has been ſaid may ſerve for a Sample, and therefore ſhall cloſe the Account with the Caſe of Mr. *Baxter*: He was Committed by *Jefferies* Warrant, for his Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament; which was call'd a Scandalous and Seditious Book againſt the Government. *May* 18, he was brought to his Trial, but being very much Indiſpos'd, he mov'd by his Counſel for further time; but the Judge cries out in a Paſſion, I will not give him a Minutes Time to ſave his Life: We have had to deal with other ſort of Perſons, but now we have a Saint to deal with. I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners. Yonder (ſays he) ſtands *Oates* in the Pillory, and he ſays he ſuffers for Truth, and ſo ſays *Baxter*; but if *Baxter* did but

Mr *Baxter*'s Tryal for Notes on the New Teſtament.

but ſtand on the other Side of the Pillory with him, I would ſay two of the greateſt Rogues and Raſcals in the Kingdom ſtood there. The Paſſages accus'd were his Paraphraſe on *Mat.* 5. 19. *Mark* 3. 6. *Mark* 9. 39. *Mark* 11. 30. *&c.* The main Charge was, That he in theſe Paſſages reflected on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and ſo was Guilty of Sedition. His Council were not ſuffer'd to proceed in the Defence of their Client, but were Brow-beaten and Hectored by the Judge in a Manner that ſuited *Billingſgate*, much better than the Tribunal of Juſtice. Mr. *Baxter*, beginning to ſpeak for himſelf; ſays *Jefferies* to him, *Richard, Richard*, doſt thou think we'll hear thee Poiſon the Court, *And* Richard, *thou art an Old Fellow, an Old Knave*; thou haſt written Books enough to fill a Cart, every one as full of Sedition (I may ſay Treaſon) as an Egg's full of Meat; hadſt thou been Whipt out of thy Writing-Trade forty years ago, it had been Happy. I know thou haſt a mighty Party, and I ſee a great many of thy Brotherhood in Corners, to ſee what will become of their *mighty Don*; but by the Grace of Almighty God I'll Cruſh them all.

AFTER this ſtrange Inſult, another of Mr. *Baxter*'s Counſel (Mr. *Atkinſon*) begins to ſpeak, and to clear Mr. *Baxter*, would have read ſome Paſſages of the Book; but *Jefferies* cry'd out, *You ſhan't draw me into a Conventicle with your Annotations, nor your Snivelling Parſon neither.* So that when neither he himſelf, nor the Lawyers could be heard, but were all ſilenc'd by Noiſe and Fury, the Judge proceeds to ſum up the Matter to the Jury. 'Tis notoriouſly 'known, ſays he, there has been a Deſign to 'Ruin the King and Nation; the Old Game 'has been renew'd, and this has been the main In-

'cendiary. He's as Modeſt now as can be, but the Time was, when no Man ſo ready at *Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron*; *and*, *To your Tents O Iſrael*! Gentlemen, for God's ſake, don't let us be gull'd twice in an Age. When he had done his Harangue, Mr. *Baxter* preſumes to ſay, Does your Lordſhip think any Jury will pretend to paſs a Verdict on me upon *ſuch* a Tryal? I'll warrant you, Mr. *Baxter*, ſays he; don't trouble your Head about that: The Jury immediately laid their Heads together at the Bar, and brought him in guilty. This was *May* 30. and on the 29th of *June* following, Judgment was given againſt him that he ſhould pay a Fine of five hundred Marks, lye in Priſon till it was paid, and be bound to his good Behaviour ſeven Years And thus we have ſeen how the firſt Part of King *James*'s Promiſe was made good: *Such was his Clemency! This the Mercy of his Government!*

I am now to conſider him in another reſpect, as governing *according to Law*, *preſerving Liberty and Religion*, for this he had promis'd and ſwore to at his Coronation; but certainly he that has either read or heard the Paſſages of his Reign, muſt conclude he had a bad Conſcience, or a bad Memory; and that he either never deſign'd what he promis'd, or ſoon forgot himſelf: 'Tis needleſs to produce Particulars for the Proof of this to *Engliſh Men*, witneſs his whole Reign; however, I ſhall touch upon a few Things.

K *James* ſets up his diſpenſing Power.

IT was look'd upon a little ominous, that immediately after his Declaration in Council, wherein he tells them he would invade no Man's Property, he ſhould put forth a Proclamation for levying and continuing that Part of the Cuſtoms that had been granted to King *Charles* only for Life. This was perfectly needleſs, a Parliament

ment being ſoon to meet, who, no queſtion, would have granted that by Law which he ſeiz'd without; and many took Umbrage at it, apprehending 'twas done on purpoſe to introduce that *Form of abſolute Government he reſolv'd to ſet up.* The better to countenance this, and make it the more effectual, an Addreſs was procur'd from the *Middle Temple*, preſented by Sir *Humphry Macworth*; wherein they own his Majeſty's Care of the Government *in preſerving the Cuſtoms*; that his Majeſty's *high Prerogative* is the *greateſt Security* of the Liberty and Property of the Subject.

BUT this was but playing at ſmall Games, and touching with the little Finger; it was higher things the *King* aim'd at, and therefore when he had got thro' the Trouble *Monmouth's* Inſurrection gave him, he opens his Mind more *Novemb.* 9. fully to the next Parliament, and declares both *1685.* for a *Standing Army*, and for *Intruſting Papiſts with Commiſſions* in it. He tells them the Concern he had for the Peace and Quiet of his Subjects, as well as for the Safety of his Government, made him think it neceſſary to encrease the Number of his Army to the Proportion he had done; adding (which was the main Point)

'Let none take Offence that there are ſome Officers in the Army not qualify'd according to 'the late Teſts for their Employments. The 'Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are well known to 'me, and having formerly ſerv'd me on many 'Occaſions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of 'their Principles by their Practices, I think them 'now fit to be employ'd under me; and will 'deal plainly with you, that after having had 'the Benefit of their Services at ſuch a Time of 'Need and Danger, I will neither expoſe them 'to Diſgrace, nor my ſelf to the Want of them

if there ſhall be another Rebellion to make them neceſſary to me.' So that now the King ſpoke out, declaring for a Standing Army in time of Peace, and without Conſent of Parliament, and *at once diſpenſing with* all the Oaths and Teſts the Law had ſet *as a Bulwark againſt Popery.*

THE Houſe of Commons were juſtly alarm'd at this, and therefore after many Debates, repreſent to his Majeſty, that theſe Officers *could not by Law* be capable of their Employments; nor could the Incapacities they were under be remov'd but by Act of Parliament; but that out of the great Reverence and Duty they ow'd to his Majeſty, they were preparing a Bill to indemnify them from the Penalties they had incurr'd, and 'tis ſaid the Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament ſuch a Number of *Roman-Catholick* Officers as his Majeſty ſhould give a Liſt of: But this did not anſwer the King's Purpoſe, and therefore, after he had ſtorm'd at the Diſappointment, he put an end to their Debates, by proroguing and then diſſolving them.

The Houſe of Commons againſt Popiſh Officers, contrary to Law.

THINGS not ſucceeding as was hop'd in *England*, his Majeſty turn'd himſelf to his Friends in *Scotland*, where he expected a more entire Compliance, having found the firſt Parliament there, which ſat down *May* 23, 1685. *ſo much after his own Heart.* The firſt Act they paſs'd, was call'd an Act for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion; but (ſays Dr. *Kennet* truly) they meant for the Extirpation of the Presbyterians. The next Act was for ſettling the Exciſe of Inland and Foreign Commodities upon His Majeſty and Heirs for ever; and in the Preamble of this Act they declare, That they abhor all Principles which are derogatory to the King's ſacred, ſupreme and *abſolute* Power and Authority, which none, whe-

The *Scots* aſſert the King's abſolute Power.

'ther private Perſons, or collegiate Bodies, can
'participate of any manner of way, but in De-
'pendance on him; and therefore they take
'this Occaſion to renew their hearty and ſin-
'cere Offer of their Lives and Fortunes, to aſ-
'ſiſt, and defend and maintain his Rights and
'Prerogatives againſt all Mortals.' The 8th of *May*, the ſame Parliament paſs'd two other Acts; the firſt to forbid Preaching, or Reſorting to Houſe or Field-Conventicles, under Pain of Death, *&c.* the other to make it High-Treaſon to give or take the National Covenant, as ex-plain'd 1638, or write in the Defence of it; and the better to tie up that Nation to a *Deſpotick Yoke*: They paſs'd another Act on the 24th of the ſaid Month, ordaining all the Subjects of that Kingdom, whenſoever requir'd, to aſſert the *Royal Prerogatives*, and ſwear to defend the King and his Succeſſors in the Exerciſe of their *abſolute Power*, under the Pain of Baniſhment.

Hiſt. of K. *William.* Vol. 1. Pag. 186.

THE King preſuming from theſe Advances (ſays an ingenious Writer) the *Scots* would eaſily be faſhion'd to his Pleaſure he recommends to them his *Innocent Roman Catholick Subjects*, who as they had given good Experience of their true Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, ſo he would have them have the Protection of his Laws without lying under Obligations their Religion could not admit of. But tho' many were for obliging his Majeſty in this, it could not be car-ried without warm Debates, and ſtrong Ob-jections on the other ſide; in the midſt of which his Majeſty ſends an Expreſs to the Earl of *Mur-ray*, to prorogue or diſſolve the Parliament: How-ever, the *February* following, 1686. he does the Work himſelf in a way more agreeable to him; puts forth his Proclamation for Liberty of Con-ſcience, repealing the Laws made againſt the

Papiſts

Papiſts; and it ſeems the Lords of the Council were ſo entirely devoted to the Court, as to receive this illegal Proclamation, contriv'd to ruin the Proteſtant Intereſt with Applauſe, telling his Majeſty, 'His Orders were exactly obey'd, 'and that his Royal Proclamation was printed 'and publiſh'd, by which his Majeſty had gi-'ven a further Proof of his Favour and Good-'neſs to all his Subjects; adding, that they con-'ceive ſuch of his Subjects (meaning the Pa-'piſts) as ſhall be employ'd by his Majeſty in 'Offices of Truſt, Civil or Military, are ſuffi-'ciently ſecur'd *by his Authority* and Commiſſion 'for exerciſing the ſame:' This was exactly to the King's Guſt; but what then ſignifies Acts of Parliament?

BUT it was in *Ireland* that King *James*'s Deſigns of enſlaving his People, and ſetting up Popery, took moſt: The King begun there as ſoon as he came to the Throne, and purſued his Meaſures ſo vigorouſly, that the Proteſtant Intereſt in a few Years was brought to the laſt Gaſp; Dr. *Kennet* ſays the Proſpect of this broke the Heart of the Duke of *Ormond*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but recall'd within leſs than two Months after King *James*'s Acceſſion. It would require a Volume, to relate but part of the illegal, arbitrary, cruel and inhumane Methods, us'd under the Adminiſtration of *Tyrconnel* to ſuppreſs the Proteſtants, and ſet up Popery in that Kingdom; and 'tis excellently well done already in *Biſhop* King's *State of Ireland*, whither I refer. I ſhall only tranſcribe a few Paſſages out of him, to give the Reader a more comprehenſive Idea of the Miſeries of thoſe Times; and I ſhall firſt take Notice what ſort of Creatures they were King *James* advanc'd and employ'd as his Tools in all his foul Work.

Tyrconnel's Methods to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty in *Ireland.*

'In *Ireland*, ſays my Author, before it was 'conquer'd by the *Engliſh*, the Heads of Septs 'were abſolute over their Tenants; their Wills 'paſs'd for Laws, and all their Proceedings were 'merely arbitrary and deſpotick; whatever the 'Landlord had occaſion for, he ſent to his Te-'nant's Houſe, and caus'd it to be brought him, 'without Conſideration or Allowance; or, if 'he pleas'd, he went to the Tenant's Houſe 'with his Retinue, and there ſtay'd as long as 'he thought fit, eating and drinking, and uſing 'every thing the Tenant had as his Own: This 'Practice was call'd *Coſhering*, and ſeveral Laws 'have been made againſt it. But many of the 'old Landlords loſt their Eſtates by Outlawries 'and Attainders, for their Rebellion in the Year '1641, and for murdering the Proteſtants at 'that time; many of them had ſold their 'Eſtates and ſome had mortgag'd them for more 'than their Value two or three times to ſeveral 'Perſons, a Practice very common in *Ireland*. 'But it is obſervable, that 'tis the Humour of 'this People to count an Eſtate ſtill their own, 'tho' they have ſold it on a moſt valuable Conſide-'ration, or have been turn'd out of it by the moſt 'regular Proceedings of Juſtice; ſo that they 'reckon every Eſtate theirs that either they or 'their Anceſtors had at any time in their Poſ-'ſeſſion, no matter how many Years ago; and 'by their pretended Title and Gentility, they 'have ſuch an Influence upon the poor Tenants, 'of their own Nation and Religion, who live 'on thoſe Lands, that theſe Tenants look on 'them ſtill, tho' out of Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, 'as a kind of Landlords; maintain them after a 'Faſhion in Idleneſs, and entertain them in 'the *Coſhering manner*. Theſe Vagabonds reck-'on'd themſelves great Gentlemen, and that

'it

' it would be a great Diſparagement to 'em to
' betake themſelves to any Calling, Trade, or Way
' of Induſtry; and therefore either ſupported
' themſelves by Stealing and *Torying*, or oppreſ-
' ſing the poor Farmers, and exacting ſome kind
' of Maintenance, either from their Clans and
' Septs, or from thoſe that liv'd on the Eſtates to
' which they pretended; and theſe pretended
' Gentlemen, together with the numerous *Coſ-*
' *hering* Popiſh Clergy, that liv'd much after the
' ſame manner, were the two greateſt Grievances
' of the Kingdom, and more eſpecially hindred
' its Settlement and Happineſs: The Laws of
' *England* were intolerable to them both, nor
' could they ſubmit under them.

' AS to the Popiſh Landlords, who yet retain-
' ed their Eſtates, it put them out of all Patience
' to find that the *Bodough*, their Tenant (for ſo
' they call the meaner ſort of People) ſhould
' have equal Juſtice againſt them, as well as a-
' gainſt their *Fellow Churl*. That the Landlord
' ſhould be call'd to an Account for killing or
' robbing his Tenant, or raviſhing his Daughter,
' ſeemed to them an *unreaſonable Hardſhip*. It
' was unſufferable to Men that had been us'd to
' no Law but their own Will, to be levell'd with
' the meaneſt in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice;
' and every time they were croſs'd by a Tenant
' that would not patiently bear their Impoſitions,
' they curs'd in their Hearts the Laws of *England*,
' and call'd to mind the Glorious Days of their
' Anceſtors, who with a Word of their Mouths
' could hang or ruin which of their Dependants
' they pleas'd, and had in themſelves the Power
' of Peace or War.

' NOW theſe very Men were the Officers
' King *James* employ'd and truſted above all
' others; he eſpous'd their Intereſt from the Time

'he had Thoughts of the Crown; they were 'his Favourites and Confidents, and to provide 'for them, he turn'd his *Engliſh* and Proteſtant 'Subjects firſt out of the Army, then out of 'their Civil Truſts and Employments, and laſt-'ly out of their Fortunes and Eſtates. He 'knew very well that the Tempers and Genius 'of theſe Men were at Enmity to the Laws, 'and fitted for that Conſtitution of Slavery un-'der which he deſign'd to bring the Kingdoms: 'He found that none were more fawning to 'their Superiors than they, nor did they flatter 'with more Meanneſs and Servility; and ac-'cording to the Nature of ſuch People, none are 'more inſolent and tyrannous to their Inferiours; 'and this was the Reaſon that they were ſo dear 'to King *James*, and that he preferr'd and truſt-'ed them rather than his Proteſtant and *Engliſh* 'Subjects. The Bargain betwixt him and them 'was plainly this, *Reſtore us to our former Power,* '*Eſtates and Religion, and we will ſerve you as you* '*pleaſe, in your own way*; an Expreſſion that King '*James* and all his Creatures often us'd, and were 'very fond of.

ANY one may diſcern how admirably cut out and adapted theſe *Cannibals* were for King *James*'s Purpoſe; nor was it long before he introduc'd them into his Service, diſplacing others to make way for them. *Ormond* being recall'd, the Privy Council was immediately diſſolv'd, and all ſuch Proteſtants as had been moſt hearty for the Proteſtant Intereſt were diſmiſs'd; ſo that in a little time the major part of the Council conſiſted of Papiſts. Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, was firſt made Lieutenant General, and intruſted with the new modelling the Army. He was, ſays Dr. *King*, a Perſon more hated than any other by the *Engliſh*, and had been nam'd by

by *Oates* in his Narrative for this very Employment, which made many that believ'd nothing of the *Popiſh Plot* before, now give Credit to his Narrative; and the common Saying was, that if *Oates* was an *ill Evidence*, he was certainly *a good Prophet*. *Tyrconnel* conſider'd the Army as the only Engine he depended on for deſtroying the Religion, Liberty and Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore reſolv'd to have it fitted for his Purpoſe, which he ſet about with all Expedition, and proſecuted in ſuch a manner as might be expected from a Man of his inſolent Temper, exerciſing the utmoſt Falſhood and Barbarity: *In the Morning* he would take an Officer into his Cloſet, and with all the Oaths, Curſes and Damnations, that were never wanting to him, he would profeſs Friendſhip and Kindneſs, and promiſe him the Continuance of his Commiſſion, and *in the Afternoon* caſhier him with all the Contempt he could heap on him; nay, it may be, while he was thus careſſing him, he had actually given away his Commiſſion; and ſuch as he turn'd out, he treated barbarouſly, ſiezing the Horſes of many Officers, cheating them of their Pay, and ſtripping the Common Soldiers even of their Shirts; ſo that ſome hundred Gentlemen that had laid out their Eſtates in buying Commiſſions, were depriv'd of them in an arbitrary manner, and five or ſix Thouſand Soldiers ſent a begging, and a Company of *Iriſh* Papiſts were ſubſtituted in their room.

SOME time after he's made Lord Lieutenant, the News of which amaz'd the poor Proteſtants; it ſtruck like a Thunder-bolt, perhaps no Age, *ſays the Biſhop*, can parallel ſo dreadful a Cataſtrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the Day of Doom was come, every one lamenting their Condition,

dition, and almoſt all that could abandoning the Kingdom.

THE Judges are preſently chang'd, the Proteſtants generally turn'd out, and ſome of the moſt profligate branded Creatures in the whole Profeſſion of the Law put in, who had no other Merit but that of Bigottry to Popery, an implacable Rage againſt the Proteſtants, and a Readineſs to ſerve King *James in his own way*. Take an Example in the Chancellor (*et ex uno diſce omnes*) 'The *Chancery*, ſays my Author, is the 'greater and higheſt Court, wherein the great 'Frauds and other Matters belonging to Truſt and 'Equity are determin'd, and neither the Lord Primate *Boyle*, who had manag'd that Court above 'twenty Years, nor Sir *Charles Porter*, who ſucceeded him, could anſwer the King's Intention; 'but Sir *Alexander Titton*, a Perſon detected of 'Forgery, not only at *Weſtminſter* and *Cheſter*, 'but likewiſe fin'd by the Houſe of Lords in 'Parliament, muſt be brought out of Goal, and 'ſet on the higheſt Court of the Kingdom, to 'keep the King's Conſcience, tho' he wanted 'Law and Natural Capacity, as well as Honeſty 'and Courage to diſcharge ſuch a Truſt, and had 'no other Quality to recommend him, beſides 'his being a Convert-Papiſt; that is, a Renegado to his Religion and his Country. He could 'not underſtand the Merit of a Cauſe of any 'Difficulty, and therefore never fail'd to give 'Sentence according to his Inclination, having 'no other Rule to lead him; and how he was 'inclin'd to all Proteſtants, appears from his Declarations on all Occaſions againſt them. He 'did not ſtick, on a Hearing, to declare that 'they were all Rogues, and that amongſt forty 'Thouſand, there was not one who was not a 'Rebel, a Traitor and a Villain; for this Reaſon

'he

'he would not allow the Guardianſhip of a Child 'to the Proteſtant Mother, but gave it againſt 'the poſitive Words of the Law, to the Popiſh 'Relations. For this Cauſe, he over-rul'd both 'the common Rules and of Practice of the Courts, 'and the Laws of the Land, declaring in open 'Court, that the *Chancery* was above all Laws, 'that no Law could bound his Conſcience. After 'hearing a Cauſe between a Proteſtant and a Pa-'piſt, he would often declare that he would con-'ſult a Divine before he gave a Decree; that is, 'he would have the Opinion of a Popiſh Prieſt, 'his Chaplain, educated in *Spain*, and furniſh'd 'with Diſtinctions to ſatisfy his Conſcience how 'far he ſhould do Juſtice to Proteſtants. In ſhort, 'all Offices, whether Military or Civil, were 'diſpos'd of to a Set of the greateſt Villains in 'the World: They were forc'd to rake into the 'very Scum and Sink of the People, to find a 'few to ſit on the Bench; Men without Free-'hold, without Senſe, and without Honeſty, were 'made Sheriffs. There was not a Proteſtant She-'riff in all *Ireland* in the Year 1687, except one 'ſuppos'd to be put in by miſtake, inſtead of a 'CatholickName-ſake (*Charles Hamilton* for *John*). 'The mean Employments of an high or petty 'Conſtable, a Goaler, *&c.* were thought too good 'for Proteſtants, who now had the Mortification 'to be at the Mercy of a Company of illegal 'Officers, Sheriffs, Juſtices and Juries, ſome of 'whoſe Fathers, or near Relations, they had ei-'ther hang'd for Thieving, Robbing and Mur-'thering, or kill'd in the very Act of *Torying*.

ANOTHER thing they ſet themſelves about was, to diſſolve the Corporations, take away their Charters, and model them according to their own Mind; and this way they thought the more neceſſary, becauſe after the Rebellion in 41, the

Papiſts

Papiſts were excluded by the Charters from the Freedom of voting in their Corporations, many of which had been procur'd, and ſome built by the Induſtry of the Proteſtants. Hereby the Proteſtants were ſecure of Parliament-Men; but this Barrier was broke thro', all the Corporations being diſſolv'd, and their Charters wreſted out of their Hands by *Quo Warranto*'s; and where new Charters were granted, they were fill'd up chiefly with Papiſts, and Men of deſperate Fortunes, a Clauſe being inſerted in every one of them, by which they were ſubjected to the *abſolute Will of the King*, the King's chief Governor having Power to put in and out whom he pleas'd, without giving any Reaſon, *&c.* So that the Corporations became now ſo entirely in the King's Power, that he might, ſays my Author, *as well name his Regiment of Guards a Free Parliament, as the Burgeſſes return'd by ſuch Elections*; and indeed Aldermen and Burgeſſes of the new Charters were above two Thirds Papiſts.

WHAT a Train of Calamities the Proteſtants ſuffer'd during the reſt of King *James*'s Tyranny, under ſuch Miniſters and Officers, is pretty well known; however, ſomething I ſhall ſay of them, and ſhall reduce them to four Heads, and juſt touch upon each; *their Sufferings in their Liberties, Eſtates, Religion* and *Lives:* To begin with their *Liberties.*

Civil Liberties taken away.

NO ſooner had they gotten Judges and Juries that would believe them, but they began a Trade of Swearing, and ripping up what they had heard their Neighbours ſay of his Majeſty, whilſt Duke of *York*, eſpecially in the Time of the *Popiſh Plot.* The new Juſtices readily bound over the accus'd Proteſtants, and committed them without any Reaſon given in the Warrant; it was time enough to invent Reaſons againſt the next

next Aſſizes; and in this Caſe Perjury was grown ſo common, that if a Tenant owed his Proteſtant Landlord any Rent, he paid him by *Swearing him into a Plot*: If a Papiſt had any Quarrel with his Proteſtant Neighbour, or ow'd him Money, he paid him with the ſame Coin: Many were Indicted, Fin'd and Impriſon'd by theſe Contrivances, and not being able to ſatisfy the King for their Fines, he ſeiz'd both their Bodies and Eſtates; the New Mayors were as Tyrannical in their Places as any of the reſt. Sir *Thomas Hacket*, Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, among many brutiſh and barbarous things he did, ſent his Warrant and Committed the Officers of *Chriſt-Church* to the Stocks, *Becauſe he fancied they did not make the Bells ring merrily enough for the Birth of the Prince of* Wales, tho' that Church was without his Juriſdiction: At laſt it came to a general Seizure, and almoſt all the Proteſtant Gentlemen, without Pretence of Reaſon, Warrant, or Form of Law, were put in Goals under the Cuſtody of mean and barbarous Guards, whoſe very Captains had no better Education than that of Foot-Men or Cow-Herds; whoever pleas'd had the Power to commit Proteſtants, and if at any time they ask'd by what Authority they were commited, they were anſwer'd, *We have committed you, get out again as you can.*

Proteſtants by Fraud and Violence deprived of their Eſtates.

AS for their Poſſeſſions and Eſtates, they had a variety of Methods to cheat them out of them; their Arms, Cattel, Money, all were taken from them. In the beginning of King *James*'s Reign the Proteſtant Militia were diſſolv'd, and tho' they had bought their own Arms, they were oblig'd to bring them into the Stores: There was however a conſiderable Quantity of Arms in ſeveral Places, eſpecially in *Dublin*, to deprive them of which, the Lord Deputy drew nine

nine or ten Regiments thither, and filling the Streets and Lanes with Foot and Horſe, he ſent the City-Officers to ſignify to every Houſe, that if they did not immediately deliver up their Arms, they ſhould be left to the Mercy of the Soldiers, both as to Life and Goods: The Proteſtants looking upon this as a Threatning of a general Maſſacre, which they fear'd; and to avoid ſo terrible a Dragooning, were forc'd to comply: Afterwards came out a Proclamation, forbidding any Proteſtant to wear or keep a Sword, under Penalty of being counted Rebels or Traitors; and in the ſame manner they took away their Horſes, and indeed all they had: Their Expences were multiplied, their Trade ruin'd, their Houſes and Villages deſtroy'd by Robberies and Free-quarters; their Receipts and Rents ſtopt: The Popiſh Tenants were taught to anſwer when their Landlords demanded Rent, that they had ſpent what they had deſign'd for them to fit themſelves for the King's Service, and he was ſure to be repreſented as diſaffected, that did not ſit down with this Anſwer. And to make quicker Diſpatch, a general Plundering or Robbing was ſet on Foot; ſo that they ſcarce left a Proteſtant in *Ireland*, a Cow or a Sheep, and it ſeems the Prieſts encourag'd this Trade, impoſing it as *a Pennance* upon ſuch as came to them for Abſolution, *to rob ſome of their Proteſtant Neighbours*; their real Eſtates had the ſame Fate; a Counterfeit Deed produc'd by a Catholick, would turn a Proteſtant Gentleman out of all he had, and at laſt by a pretended Parliament, choſe in effect by the King himſelf; and which had little more to do than like a Parliament of *France*, confirm the King's Edicts; an Act of Attainder is paſt, by which all Proteſtants whoſe Names they could find, of all Ages Sexes

Sexes, and Degrees, are attainted of High Treason; and their Eſtates Veſted in the King, which ſwept away what the Act *of Repeal left.*

'TIS eaſy to ſuppoſe what Violence would be offer'd to the *Proteſtant Religion*, when they treated with ſo much Barbarity the Profeſſors of it: King *James* indeed had ſtickled mightily for Liberty of Conſcience; but, ſays Dr. *King*, the Proteſtants found that a Papiſt, whatever he profeſſes, is but an ill Guardian of Liberty of Conſcience; and that the ſame Religion that oblig'd the King of *Spain* to ſet up an Inquiſition, would not long endure the King of *England* to maintain Liberty. Some of the Papiſts would forwardly tell their Neighbours that *Ireland* muſt be a Catholick Kingdom, and they haſtned as faſt as they could to make it ſo; ruining the Proteſtant Univerſity of *Dublin*, and Proteſtant Schools up and down the Kingdom; erecting Popiſh Seminaries, Converting the Legal Maintainance of the Proteſtant Clergy, to the uſe of Popiſh Prieſts; Plundering and Seizing their Churches in a rude and violent Manner. In Corporations the *Mayors* or other Governours with the Prieſts, went to the Churches, ſent for the Keys to the Sextons; and if they could not get the Keys, broke open the Doors, pull'd up the Seats, *&c.* and having *ſaid Maſs* in the Churches, declar'd them their own, that they were *Conſecrated* Places, and that the King himſelf had nothing to do with them; and that to give them back to Hereticks were Sacriledge; in Country-places the Officers of the Army did the ſame; this *Chriſt*-Church in *Dublin* was ſeiz'd by *Lutrell* the Governor, and about twenty ſix more in the Dioceſs of *Dublin*; and when they had drove them into Private Houſes for Worſhip, they moleſted them there, and at laſt forbid more than five

Proteſtant Religion in a great Meaſure ſuppreſt.

five Proteſtants to meet together under Pain of Death, which ſhut up the Churches and religious Aſſemblies thro' the Kingdom; and had King *James* return'd Victorious from the *Boyn*, it was reſolv'd they ſhould be open'd no more for the *Proteſtants*.

Life threatned as well as Liberty.

NOR was Life ſpar'd, tho' they did not think proper yet to make a general Slaughter as in forty one: Many howevever were killed by the Soldiers, Murder'd in their Houſes, Executed by Martial Law, Starv'd in Jails, *&c.* It was made Death by a Proclamation for the Schollars of the College of *Dublin*, to Meet and Converſe together above two or three at a time; and to ſhow what they deſign'd had not Providence prevented, every Member of their Sham Parliament was order'd to return ſuch Proteſtant Gentlemen, as liv'd near him, or in the County, or Borough for which he ſerv'd; and when they had made a large Collection of Names, they Attainted them, and allow'd them not time to come in, and put themſelves on Trial: 'Tis obſervable this Act left no room for the King to Pardon after ſuch a Day, and yet was conceal'd, and no Proteſtant allow'd to ſee it till the time limited for Pardon was paſt four Months.

I'll give a ſingle Inſtance, which may ſhow upon what Terms the Proteſtants ſtood for their Lives: Several Gentlemen kept their Horſes, and arm'd their Servants, in order to defend themſelves againſt the Rapparies or Plunderers, which was call'd, *Levying War againſt the King*. In the County of *Cork*, one Mr. *Brown* had been ſeen in a Company of Men that were endeavouring to make their Eſcape from the Plunderers, but left them and went Home; he was however for this brought before Judge *Dally*, who acquitted him as Innocent: Afterwards he was carri-

ed

ed before Judge *Nugent*, and even he, as bad as he was, at firſt ſeem'd inclin'd to acquit him, till he had diſcours'd with King *James*, lately come over; and then by a corrupt Jury found him Guilty, and Condemn'd him to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, and the Sentence was accordingly Executed. no Intreaties being able to prevail with King *James* to Pardon him; which made many call to Mind the bloody Executions in the *Weſt of England*, and fear *Nugent* would Act over again the infamous part of *Jefferies*.

NAY, it ſeems they were for famiſhing the whole Body of Proteſtants, and the Methods they took would have done it effectually, had their Power laſted a little longer; if the Proteſtants had any Proviſions of Biſket or Barrell'd Beef, *&c.* there was a general Search made for them; nor would they ſuffer them to buy either Bread or Drink in the City of *Dublin* at any Rate; twenty or thirty Soldiers ſtood conſtantly about every Bake-houſe, and would not ſuffer a Proteſtant to come nigh it. If they ſent into the Country, and by Intereſt and a great Price got a Barrel of Wheat from a Popiſh Farmer, it was ſeiz'd as it came to Town; and tho' there was Plenty of all Things, yet ſeveral Proteſtant Families could not get a Loaf of Bread in a Week or Fortnight; ſo that the poor People began to be convinced it was more than a bare Threatning, which Sir *Robert Parker* and others blab'd out in the Coffee-Houſe, *viz. That they deſign'd to Starve one half of the Proteſtants, and Hang the other; and that it would never be well till this was done.*

IN *England* King *James* found his Affairs a little embarraſs'd, his Parliament was not ſo tractable as he expected, notwithſtanding his Endeavours to pack an Aſſembly to his Mind, by

Quo Warranto's, *Closetting*, the Intreagues of the Lord Lieutenants, and *Regulators*; and therefore after several Prorogations, he dissolves them *July* 2, 1687. and goes to work another way, *tampering with the Judges to set up his dispensing Power*; since the Parliament could not be wrought upon to do it; to which purpose the King *Closets* the old Judges, and questions them upon the Point, whether they would maintain his Power to dispense with the Penal Laws and Test: The first Man the King sounds was Sir *Thomas Jones*, who boggled at it, and at last told the King he could not do it; whereupon the King answer'd he would have twelve Judges of his Mind; to which Sir *Thomas* reply'd, he might possibly have twelve Judges of his Opinion, but would scarce find twelve Lawyers to be so. He and several others that would not bend to the King's Will were remov'd, and a new Set introduc'd that were more at his Majesty's Devotion, as Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, Sir *Edward Atkins*, Sir *Edward Lutwitch*, *&c.* These readily fall in with the Measures of the Court, and are prepar'd to Support by their Authority such extravagant Positions as had been deliver'd by fawning Courtiers, and in many fulsom Harangues from the Pulpit, *viz. That Monarchy and Hereditary Succession were by Divine Right*; *That the Legislature was vested in the Person of the Prince*, and that Power in the King to dispense *with the Law*, was *Law*; accordingly in a Case of Sir *Edward Hales* they gave it for Law.

Vide History of King *William*, Vol. I. p. 206.

The dispensing Power Vindicated by the Judges.

'That the Kings of *England* are Soveraign
'Princes.

'That the Laws of *England* are the King's
'Laws.

THAT

'THAT therefore 'tis an incident, inſeparable Prerogative in the Kings of *England*, as in all other Soveraign Princes, to *diſpenſe with Penal Laws* in particular Caſes, and upon particular neceſſary Reaſons.

'THAT of thoſe Reaſons, and of thoſe Neceſſities the King himſelf is the Sole Judge. And,

'That this is not a Truſt inveſted in or granted to the King by the People, but is the Ancient Remain of the Soveraign Power, and Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, which never yet was taken from them, *nor can be.*'

THUS, adds the *Memoirs*, were we fallen under the greateſt Misfortune that could happen to a Nation, to have our Laws and Conſtitution trampled upon under Colour of Law, and thoſe very Men whoſe Office 'twas to ſupport them, were the Betrayers of them to the Will of the Prince.

THIS grand Point being gain'd, tho' after a very ſorry Manner, the King proceeds, exerciſing his diſpenſing Power without reſerve; the Papiſts are prefer'd to all ſorts of Truſts, ſome made Privy Counſellors, other Judges; ſome (as Sir *Richard Allibone*, and Mr. *Ingleby*) were by the King's Writ call'd to the Degree of Serjeants at Law, and gave Rings with this Motto, *A Rege Lex.*

IN the mean time the Intereſt of the Catholick Church, as they call it, is not forgotten: *Jeſuits* and all ſorts of Eccleſiaſticks, like the Swarms of Flies, and Lice of Egypt, or Locuſts out of the bottomleſs Pit, cover the Land: Schools and Seminaries are erected at *London*, and in moſt conſiderable Towns in the Kingdom: Popery bare-fac'd.

Four Roman Catholick Biſhops were publickly Conſecrated in the Royal Chappel, and diſpatched down under the Titles of *Vicars Apoſtolical*, to exerciſe their Functions in their reſpective Dioceſſes; their Paſtoral Letters directed to the Lay-Catholicks of *England*, were diſpers'd up and down, and printed by the King's own Printer with publick Licence. The *Regular Clergy* appear'd in their Habits at *White-Hall*, and St. *James*'s, and made no ſcruple to tell the People that they hop'd in a little time to walk in Proceſſion thro' *Cheapſide*; and that theſe Enemies might have the fuller Swing, and ſow their Tares without any Complaints by the Husbandmen, *An Order was ſent to the Proteſtant Biſhops to diſcharge all their Inferior Clergy from Preaching upon controverted Points in Divinity*: But this unreaſonable Prohibition awaken'd, rather than diſcourag'd the Zeal of many Eminent Miniſters of the Church of *England*, and ſet them upon Preaching in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion and writing againſt *Rome*; whoſe Errors they expos'd in ſuch a Manner, as gall'd their Adverſaries, and made them gnaſh their Teeth for Vexation, which I mention to the Honour of thoſe learned and brave Men of the † Church

Proteſtant Religion defended by the Church of *England*'s Divines, with a commendable Zeal.

† It has, I know, been often caſt in the Teeth of the *Diſſenters*, that they were Silent at this Dangerous and Critical Juncture; but I'm ſatisfied ſuch as impute it to any *Coolneſs*, with Reference to the Cauſe depending, an *Indifference* about Popery, or a Cowardly temporizing, very much wrong them. They were glad to ſee the Work in ſo good Hands, and the Controverſie managed to ſo good Purpoſe by their Proteſtant Brethren of the Church of *England*. They thought it but reaſonable to leave them to lay the Devil they had done ſo much, many of them to raiſe; and rejoiced to ſee them ſo vigorouſly endeavour it; and beſides it ſhould be remembred that the *Diſſenters* were but juſt come out of Jails and Priſons; a little while ago they durſt ſcarce ride along the King's High-way, for fear of a Church of *England* Purſuivant: Their Pap-

Diſſenters Cauſe for not writing more againſt Popery.

of *England* that made ſo noble a ſtand for their Religion in its greateſt Danger. But this gave no ſmall Offence, and Reſolutions were taken to check theſe Advocates for the Proteſtant Cauſe, and keep them under; to which purpoſe a new Court of Inquiſition was erected, under the Name of an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion directed to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and Earl of *Sunderland*; the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, which impower'd them to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the fulleſt manner. The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* excus'd himſelf from the beginning, as did the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, as ſoon as he underſtood it was levell'd againſt the Proteſtant Religion; ſo that *Jefferies* and the Biſhop of *D——m*, *&c.* were left to do all the dirty Work themſelves.

Dr. *Sharp* Suſpended by the High Commiſſion.

THE firſt Act of Authority (if ſo illegall a Court may pretend to Authority in any thing) was againſt the Biſhop of *London*: Dr. *Sharp*, afterwards Arch-biſhop of *York*, had taken the Freedom to Vindicate the Proteſtant Religion, and

ere rifled, Books and Goods plunder'd; and what wonder if Men in ch Circumſtances were no great Writers: How ſhould they trace the ppiſh Juglers thro' the Fathers and Councils, that had ſome of them w Books left, except the *Bible* and *Pilgrims Progreſs*, *&c.* But after all, ere's too much Reaſon to ſay, *The Church of* England *neither deſired nor ould accept their Help*. Mr. *Hanmer*, a learned Diſſenter, and well skill'd Antiquity, had prepared a Diſcourſe againſt the whole Syſtem of Pory, which was refuſed Licenſe, as was Mr. *Pendlebury's Diſcourſe* againſt *ranſubſtantiation*; tho' Dr. *Tillotſon* recommended it, and uſed his Enavours to get it printed. Nay it is ſaid, it was offer'd that Mr. *Baxter* ould produce a Piece againſt Popery every Month, if a Licence might be d; but this Motion was rejected with Scorn, and indeed every thing dertaken by a Diſſenter blown upon: So that all things conſider'd, 'tis s Difficulty to Apologize for the Diſſenters in this Matter, than to de- nd the Honour of ſome of their Brethren.

ſpeak againſt the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*: This was interpreted at Court, an Endeavour to beget in the Minds of the Hearers an ill Opinion of the King and his Government; and therefore to rebuke the Doctor, and terrify others; the King ſends an Expreſs Order to the Biſhop of *London* to Suſpend Dr. *Sharp*; the Biſhop excuſes himſelf, it being againſt Law; for which he was ſuſpended himſelf by the High Commiſſion, as was alſo Dr. *Sharp*.

The Camp at *Hounſlow Heath*.

BUT yet all was not right, the King ſaw his Authority diſputed even by the Divines of the Church of *England*, that had formerly talk'd ſo loudly for *Paſſive Obedience*: He found his Doctors could make no great Progreſs in Converting, therefore reſolves upon more forcible Arguments; to which End, he draws together fourteen or fifteen Thouſand of his Troops, and forms a Camp at *Hounſlow Heath*, erecting a Chappel at his Head-Quarters, where Maſs was ſaid every Day; and now every Body expected Swords and Muskets muſt ſerve inſtead of Scripture and Syllogiſm's; which ſome the rather fear'd becauſe the *French* King had lately revok'd the *Edict of Nantz*, and ſet upon the Converſion of his Hugonot Subjects by Dragooning, thereby ſhowing the way to his Brother in *England*; and it ſeems by a Speech made to him at *Verſailles* by a *French* Biſhop (which was printed by King *Lewis*'s Authority, and the Tranſlation allow'd by King *James* to go among his Subjects) it was expected he ſhould aſſiſt in the ſame Work here: the Speech-maker having magnify'd the King for his Zeal in *ſuppreſſing the Proteſtant Religion* in his Kingdom, tells his Majeſty, 'That *England* 'offer'd him one of the moſt Glorious Occaſions 'he could wiſh for, and that the King of *England* wanted nothing but the Support of his Arm

'Arms to ſettle the *Catholick Religion*;' and indeed it was *Engliſh* Arms and *French* Arms together that they truſted to.

IN the latter end of the Year 1686. the Earl of *Caſtle-Main* is ſent to *Rome*, as Extraordinary Ambaſſador, with Inſtructions to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to the Holy See; tho' 'tis ſaid the Politick Father *Innocent* XI. receiv'd this Embaſſy but coldly, and pitied King *James*'s raſhneſs and haſty Zeal, apprehending he drove too furiouſly.

K. *James*'s Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

ABOUT the ſame time the King put forth his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; the Deſign of which was, under this Specious Pretence, to get his diſpenſing Power more generally owned and receiv'd; he firſt ſignify'd to his Council *March* 18, 1686-7. that it was his Opinion, that Conſcience was not to be forc'd, and that no Man ſhould ſuffer for Conſcience ſake; and in purſuit of this *April* 4, 1687. he publiſh'd his Declaration, wherein he diſpenſes with the Penal Laws and Teſts; and this by his Abſolute Authority againſt ſeveral Acts of Parliament. 'Tis known the Diſſenters not only made uſe of the Liberty this gave them, but ſeveral of them thank'd the King for it in their Addreſſes, which ſince has been turn'd to their Reproach, but generally by ſuch as have little conſider'd the Matter. Many of them met for Religious Worſhip in private Aſſemblies before the Liberty; and I ſuppoſe none will ſay they might not as well do it afterwards. They had a Natural Right to their Liberty, and who could blame them for uſing it when offer'd; they ſaw their Priſons open'd, their Fetters broke, and the unmerciful Hands that had ſo long tore them tied up: They could walk the Streets, ſit in their own Houſes, and go to the Houſe of God without being terri-

An Apology for the Diſſenters who Addreſs'd on that Occaſion.

fied with Eccleſiaſtical Bailiffs; and what Wonder they were pleas'd to part with their Chains? And if ſome of them exceeded in their Compliments to the King, on this Occaſion, it muſt be conſider'd that Oppreſſion will make a wiſe Man Mad; their Joy was like the Tranſports of one deliver'd from the Rack, or brought out of a Dungeon into a free Air and the open Sun-ſhine; moſt of them were aware of the *Snake in the Graſs*, as much as any of their Neighbours; and ſeveral never Addreſs'd at all, only quietly enjoy'd their Liberty, and all of them chearfully concurr'd with their Brethren (when once they were awaken'd out of their Security) in oppoſing the common Deſtruction, which they had foreſeen, and would have guarded againſt at a greater diſtance, but could not be heard; and if Recrimination would ſignify any thing, it may be ſaid, that many of the Church Party are in the ſame Condemnation; the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Cheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and St. *Davids*, prevail'd with their Clergy to Compliment his Majeſty with Addreſſes of Thanks for his *Gracious Declaration*: Not to mention their Addreſſes for Diſſolving a Parliament in the former Reign, for no other Fault but endeavouring to Screen the Nation from imminent Ruine; and the famous Addreſſes of Abhorrence; ſo that if ſome of the Diſſenters were blameable in this Matter, others are involv'd in the ſame Guilt, and ſurely it ill becomes thoſe to judge 'em, who have done the ſame things themſelves, and that without half ſo much Temptation: It was other Folks that Addreſs'd the King into the Exerciſe of a diſpenſing Power; the Diſſenters expreſs'd their Thankfulneſs (unduely, it may be, and unſeaſonably ſome of them) that he us'd it to ſave them from their Oppreſſions, and this is made

made an unpardonable Crime, even by such as Cry up the Prerogative extravagantly upon all other Occasions, except when employ'd in Favour of the Dissenters.

THE King having thus pretty well fix'd, as he thought, the great Rule of his future Government, *Arbitrary Power*; he goes on to exercise it towards both Universities: He sends a Mandate to *Cambridge* to admit one *Abbas Francis* a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of Master of Arts, without taking the usual Oaths; his Majesty having dispens'd with *Francis* for not having that necessary Qualification; the *Vice-Chancellor*, and others of the Body, represent to his Majesty the Oaths they were under, not to admit any to Degrees *without legal Qualifications*; and they humbly hop'd his Majesty would not force them to wilful Perjury. But this Remonstrance avail'd nothing, the *Vice Chancellor* was suspended by the High Commission Court for Disobedience to the King's Command, as *Jefferies* signify'd to him, when he pass'd the Sentence. Proceeding against *Cambridge*. and *Oxford*

NEXT the Storm broke out upon *Oxford*, the President of *Magdalen College* being dead; the King by his Mandate requir'd them to chuse one *Farmer*, a Man of an ill Reputation, and that had promis'd to declare himself *a Papist*; which they could not do without *deliberate Perjury*, *Farmer* not being Qualified according to the Statutes of their College, which they had Sworn to observe; accordingly they represent their Case to the King, but in vain; and afterwards give their Reasons more fully to the High Commission, before whom they were Cited: One of the Fellows, Dr. *Fairfax*, was so bold as to except again the Authority of the Court, alledging that the Matter did not lye in that Court, but *Westminster Hall*: To which *Jefferies* reply'd, he was

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a *Doctor of Divinity*, but not of Law; whereupon the Dr. added, he desir'd to know by what Authority they sat, which put *Jefferies* into so great a Passion, that he cries out, *What Commission have you to be so impudent in Court?* This Man ought to keep in a dark Room; why do you suffer him without a Guardian, *&c.* After another Hearing of the Matter, the Vice-President, Dr. *Aldworth*, with Dr. *Fairfax*, was Suspended; and Dr *Hough*, whom they had Chosen President, depriv'd of his Presidentship; and the Fellows of the College were order'd to see the Sentence Executed, and fixt to the Gates of their College; which they, neglecting to do, were Cited before the Commissioners at *White-Hall*; but the Court being asham'd of *Farmer*, the King by a fresh Mandate orders them to Chuse Dr. *Parker*, the Bishop of *Oxford*, one devoted to the Court-Interest; but the Fellows were under the same Necessity, either of being Perjur'd or disobeying the King, which they represent to him upon his Majesty's coming to *Oxford* in Person, on their Knees; beseeching him to extend the same Tenderness to them he did to all the other of his Subjects: The King rages at this, and expresses his Resentment in the following Terms:

'Ye have been a stubborn and turbulent Col-
'lege, I have known you to be so these twenty
'six Years; you have Affronted me in this——
'Is this your Church of *England-Loyalty*? One
'would wonder to find so many Church of *En-*
'*gland* Men in such a Business; go Home and
'shew your selves good Members of the Church
'of *England*——— Get you gone——— *Know*
'*I am your King and will be obey'd.* Go and ad-
'mit the Bishop of *Oxford* Head, Principal, what

do

'do you call it, of your College; (one that ſtood 'by ſaid Preſident) I mean Preſident of the 'College; let them that refuſe it look to it, 'They ſhall feel the Weight of their Soveraigns 'Power.

BUT neither the King's Threats nor his Agents could work upon the College to a Submiſſion; ſo that at laſt Dr. *Hough* and twenty five Fellows were Suſpended, and declar'd uncapable of any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion. And thus did King *James*, to ſerve Mother-Church, diſpenſe not only with Laws, but Oaths.

Biſhops ſent to the *Tower*.

BUT that which gave the loudeſt and moſt effectual Alarm to the Nation, was *the impriſoning Seven Biſhops* in the *Tower*; the King thought fit to renew his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, and by an Order of Council commanded it to be read in all Churches and Chappels at the time of Divine Service; and the Biſhops were oblig'd to diſtribute the Declarations, and cauſe them to be read: Several of the Biſhops comply'd, and 'tis ſaid the Biſhop of *Durham* ſuſpended thirty Miniſters of his Dioceſs for not reading the Declaration: But ſeveral refus'd, looking upon the Matter of the Declaration illegal; the Foot upon which it ſtood, being a Power to diſpenſe with all ſorts of Laws, which is contrary to the End in making them: The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Sancroft*, and ſix more, drew up a Petition to the King, in which they modeſtly repreſented, 'That their Non-'Compliance did not proceed from want of Loy-'alty, nor from any want of due Tenderneſs 'towards Diſſenters; *In relation to whom, they 'were willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhould 'be thought fit*, when the Matter ſhould be con-'ſider'd in Parliament and Convocation; but they

'could

'could not do it; chiefly, becauſe the Declara-
'tion was founded upon ſuch a Power as had
'often been declar'd illegal in Parliament, par-
'ticularly in the Years 1662 and 1672, and in
'the beginning of his Majeſty's Reign:' The King was angry at this, tells them he did not expect it from the Church of *England*, eſpecially from ſome of them; and after *Jefferies* had Hector'd them before the Council, they were Committed to the *Tower*, and ſome time after were brought to their Trial, and Acquitted to the Mortification of the Court, and the no leſs Rejoycing of the Proteſtants: The Shouts of the People reach'd the Soldiers at *Hounſlow Heath*, and were ſo Eccho'd by them, that the King hearing the Acclamations, ſent to know what was the Matter; the Earl of *Haverſham* told him, Nothing but the Soldiers Shouting upon the Biſhops being acquitted; *and do you call that nothing*, ſays the King?

June 29, 1688.

EVERY body will imagine, that under the Encouragement of ſo Zealous a Patron, the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome* would beſtir themſelves, and that no Endeavours would be omitted to Propogate their Faith; They fill the Country and City with their Catechiſms and Mannuals of Devotion, and with a great deal of Cunning repreſent their Doctrines to the World, gloſſing them over with ſo much Art that a Vulgar Eye could ſcarce diſtinguiſh them: In the mean time the groſſer Errors were conceal'd from the People, and the Cloven Foot kept out of Sight; Popiſh Schools abound up and down the Kingdom. *Magdalen* College is given into their Hands; Dr. *Gifford* of the Faculty of *Paris*, being made Preſident: An Houſe is provided for entertaining 200 Popiſh Orphans, under the Direction of the Benedictine Monks of *St. James's*; ſeveral

Popery thrives apace, and ſpreads thro' the Nation.

ſeveral are encourag'd to turn *Papiſts*, by a Weekly Allowance paid them for that Purpoſe. *Father Petre* was deſign'd to be Archbiſhop of *York*, and indeed Popery, tho' it utterly diſabled according to Law, was now the *only Step to Preferment*. The King Cloſets ſeveral Noblemen, and deals with them about their Converſion; the Marquis of *Halliſax* and Lord *Dorſet* and *Lumley* receiv'd Letters from an unknown Hand, threatning ſudden Death, unleſs they made Peace with God and the King, by reconciling themſelves to the *Roman* Catholick Church.

NOR were the King's Intentions any longer diſſembled; Things were now acted above board, inſomuch that the *Pope's Nuntio* makes his Publick Entry thro' the Streets of *London* at Noon-day in great Pomp, preceded by a Croſs-Bearer, and attended by a Flock of Prieſts and Monks, in the Habits of their reſpective Orders. The Duke of *Somerſet* was appointed by the King to attend the *Nuntio* to his Audience; but deſired his Majeſty to excuſe him from countenancing any Act the Law of the Land made Criminal; upon which he loſt his Place of firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; yet adds Dr. *Kennet*, a Biſhop of the Church, or rather of the Court, is ſaid to have made no Scruple in this Matter, but to have made up part of the *Nuntio's Train*. B. *D—m.*

BUT notwithſtanding all this, there was one Allay in their Comfort, the King was growing into Years, and had no Children but two Daughters, married to *Proteſtant Princes*, from neither of whom could they expect any great Matters; ſo that nothing in the World was wanting ſo much as a Son, that might inherit his Majeſty's Crown with his Religion and Virtues, without this, they conſider'd they had but a ſort of a *Gourd* Juſt Suſpicions of the Queen's great Belly

Gourd to rejoyce in, which would ſoon be ſmitten, and then their Hopes periſh! Well, what muſt be done? The Queen had left off Childbearing for ſeveral Years, and was now become very infirm; however, a Child they muſt have *and a Son too*, or it would not ſerve their Turn: To which purpoſe a great deal of Application is made to the Saints for Aſſiſtance; to St. *Winifred* here in *England*, and to the Lady of *Loretto*, whom the Queen's Mother, the Dutcheſs of *Modena*, had oblig'd with a very handſome Preſent, and behold the good Effect! Shortly, the News flies about the Kingdom like Lightning, that the Queen's with Child; and out comes a Proclamation for a General Thankſgiving, the Biſhop of *Durham*, &c. having prepar'd a Form ſuitable to the Occaſion, and in due time the Queen is deliver'd of a Prince, as many of the Papiſts confidently ſaid it † would not be long before it was born, which was publickly chriſten'd according to the Manner of the Church of *Rome*, the *Pope* repreſented by his *Nuntio*, ſtanding *Godfather*. If the Papiſts *had never been guilty of Impoſture and Forgery*, there had been all the Reaſon in the World to ſuſpect them upon this Occaſion; and indeed there were ſo many Circumſtances of Suſpicion relating to the Queen's Conception, Breeding and Delivery, that moſt look'd upon the whole a

† In an Addreſs from *Carliſle*, ſaid to be penn'd by a *Jeſuit*, they expreſs their Confidence in this Matter: Some Paſſages of the Addreſs being very peculiar, are worth reciting. They thank his Majeſty for his Royal Army, as the Honour and Safety of the Nation; they promiſe his Majeſty to chuſe ſuch Members, when he ſhould call a Parliament, as would certainly concur with his Majeſty in taking off the Penal Laws and Teſt; and not hazard the Election of any Perſon, who had any ways declared in favour of thoſe Cannibal Laws: Surely, ſay they, theſe Men that oppoſe your Majeſty in ſo gracious a Work, do not conſider *what a Sovereign Prince in his Royal Power can do*; a Work which Heaven ſmiles upon, *and will reward with no leſs Bleſſing than a Prince of* Wales.

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piece of Management, a pious, or *rather impious* Fraud, to ſet aſide the Princeſſes of *Orange* and *Denmark*, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and a laſt Effort to ruin the Proteſtant Religion. 'Tis indeed amazing, that no more Care ſhould be taken to ſatisfy the Nation in this, had the Queen's great Belly been real, conſidering their Jealouſies, and that Lampoons flew about the Kingdom, and even *Whitehall*, ridiculing it. 'Twas confidently affirm'd, the Queen's Breaſts never ſwell'd during the Time of her pretended Pregnancy; that ſhe had no Milk in them; no fit Perſon was ever allow'd to feel the Child ſtir in her Womb; during the four laſt Months, when ſhe chang'd her Linnen, ſhe always withdrew from her Chamber with two or three *Italian* Women, and retir'd into a private Room, and would not ſuffer any of the Proteſtant Ladies to ſee her ſhift her ſelf, *contrary to her former Cuſtom*. When the Time drew near for the Queen to be deliver'd, Care was taken to adviſe the Princeſs of *Denmark*, the late Queen *Anne*, to go to the *Bath*: The Place of her Majeſty's Lying-Inn was not known till *Saturday* Night, and ſhe in Travail, as they tell us, the next Morning. The Time of her Travail was between Nine and Ten, when many of the Proteſtant Ladies were at Church. In the Room was a private Door, within the Rail of the Bed, thro' which the aſſiſting Matrons paſs'd and repaſs'd, the Curtains all the while drawn about the Queen's Bed; ſo that tho' ſome Proteſtant Lords and Ladies were in the Room, they ſaw nothing that paſs'd. After a very ſhort Labour, a Child was taken out of the Bed, and carried thro' the Privy-Door into the next Room, without ever crying when it came into the World: The King, after a little time, follows into the private Apartment, and then ſends

ſends word to the Lords of the Council, *That a Prince was born*; of whom is the Queſtion? If this, and a great deal more that is urg'd in the preſent Argument, be true, as 'tis related by ſundry Hiſtorians of good Credit, they muſt be more than ordinarily complaiſant that can believe he was born of the Queen; though, however that be, I am ſenſible it does not at all concern the Diſputes that have been rais'd about the Succeſſion. Either he was the Queen's Son, or not; if not, he is excluded as an Impoſtor; if he be, he is excluded as a Papiſt; his Blood is tainted, his Birth and Education make him utterly unfit to govern a Proteſtant Nation, and our wiſe and good Laws make him uncapable.

THE Nation being reduced to this Extremity, the Fence of Law broken down, the King's Will ſet up inſtead of Acts of Parliament, and made virtually all Law, of which Popiſh Judges were made the Executors; an illegal Army kept up, daily augmented with *Iriſh* Cut-throats, that came over in Shoals to murder the Proteſtants, and take Poſſeſſion of the Land. In this Diſtreſs and common Calamity, in which all ſorts of Proteſtants ſaw themſelves involv'd, when juſt ſinking and periſhing, their Eyes are directed to the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Intereſt in the Crown, and known Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, encourag'd their Expectations from him: Accordingly they preſent a *Memorial* to that Prince and his Royal Conſort, ſetting forth in moving Terms the Grievances of the Nation, the Ruin that hung over their Heads, beſeeching his Aſſiſtance and timely Succour, which he generouſly undertakes, equips a Fleet, and Lands at *Torbay*, *November* 5. 1688. 'Tis certain nothing but Neceſſity could engage his Highneſs in this Undertaking. Some that ſaw what Courſe King

The Nation in their Extremity fly to the Prince of *Orange* for Help.

James

James would ſteer, mov'd him immediately after the Death of King *Charles* II. to interpoſe. The Elector of *Brandenburg* particularly urg'd him to this, as we are told, and offer'd him his Aſſiſtance; but the Prince anſwer'd, he would never make any Attempt againſt his Father-in-Law without *an abſolute Neceſſity*; but at the ſame time proteſted, that if he could not otherwiſe prevent the Subverſion of the Laws and Religion of *England*, he would undertake the Voyage, *tho' he ſhould be oblig'd to embark in a Fiſherboat: This abſolute* Neceſſity now appear'd, and determined *the incomparable Hero* for his Expedition, which it pleas'd God ſo far to own and proſper, that in a little time, and without much Blood, he found his way to the *Engliſh* Throne, and became the *Deliverer of* Britain, *of* Europe, *and the Ornament and Defence of the Proteſtant Religion thro' the World.* And here I doubt not the Reader will agree with me to ſet up an *Ebenezer*; behold the Preparations of ſeveral Ages daſh'd in pieces at once! Here's Life in the midſt of Death; a Plank thrown out after a moſt deſperate Wrack, a Deliverance is wrought for us ſo ſeaſonable, ſo ſurprizing, as may deſerve to introduce a new *Epocha* into our Account. *The Glorious Year of* 88 ſhould never be forgotten by *Engliſh* Men and Proteſtants: *Hitherto the Lord has help'd us.*

THE *next Reign* one would have thought muſt have been a continual Jubilee, and that the grateful *Britons* would have been employ'd in reſounding their *Hoſanna Magna* (as the *Jews* call'd their Song on the laſt Day of the Feaſt of Tabernacles) *firſt* to their *God*, the Author, and then to their *Prince*, the Inſtrument of their Salvation: But it can't be denied nor diſſembled, that there was a Race of *Monſters*, as one may call 'em, that ſoon forgot all that was done, deſpis'd

ſpis'd their Deliverance, curs'd their Deliverer, embarraſs'd his Government, and obſtructed the excellent Deſigns he had form'd for the Good of his Country, and the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion; and ſuch was his Zeal, ſo intent was his great Soul upon the Publick Welfare, and yet ſo ſucceſsful theſe ſpiteful Men in oppoſing him, that the Diſappointment he met with prey'd upon his Spirits, and 'tis thought, more than any thing, waſted his invaluable Life.

Oppoſition to King *William*'s Government.

BUT beſides the more indirect Methods of annoying the Government, and affronting *this great Hero* at the Head of it, ſeveral Attempts were made againſt him in a more violent Way, of which ſomething, tho' very briefly, muſt here be ſaid.

THO' King *James* had done all that could be expected from a *Popiſh Bigot*, to render his Government intolerable to a Free People; had moſt groſly violated his Coronation-Oath, as well as his own voluntary ſolemn Promiſes; had forc'd the Nation to take up Arms in the neceſſary Defence of themſelves, their Religion and Poſterity, againſt thoſe that had vow'd their Deſtruction; tho' he had forfeited the Crown, *abdicated* the Throne, and fled into *France*; yet he ſtill kept up his Pretenſions and Hopes, and left a Party among us that were continually projecting his Reſtoration; and theſe not only Men of his own Religion, but *even Proteſtants* were Confederate with them, and join in all the baſe and vile Meaſures imaginable to diſturb and undermine that happy Government, that Providence had bleſs'd the Nation with. Hence they proceed with unwearied Malice from Plot to Plot, during the moſt

of King *William*'s Reign, not bogling even at *Aſſaſſination and Murder*.

A Pamphlet of that Time, ſpeaking of the Jacobite Plots that were every now and then breaking out, gives this Account of them, tracing them up to their Original. 'The firſt 'Step, ſays the Author, was the diſaffected 'Clergy's writing againſt taking the new Oaths 'to their Majeſties, and buzzing into the Ears 'of their Votaries the Unlawfulneſs of thoſe 'Oaths, and the continuing Right of King '*James* to the Crown. The next Step was, 'their cheating the World and their own Con-'ſciences with the ridiculous Diſtinction of 'taking the Oaths to a King *de facto*, and not '*de jure*; which implied, that their Majeſties 'were not rightful King and Queen of *England*, 'but Uſurpers: To further the ſame Deſign, 'they publiſh the *Hiſtory of Paſſive-Obedience*, 'which was handed about in Triumph among 'the Party. In this Pamphlet were muſter'd 'a great many Expreſſions of *Engliſh* Divines, 'both ancient and modern, tho' moſt of the 'Citations were far wide of the Queſtion. The 'next Engine was, the happy Reſult of a kind 'of Oeconomick Council of the whole Party: 'The Liturgy of the Church of *England* muſt 'be laid aſide, and a new one is calculated for 'the Meridian of King *James*'s tottering For-'tune. In this new Liturgy, they pray'd thus, *Reſtore us again the Publick Worſhip of thy Name, the Reverend Adminiſtration of thy Sacraments; raiſe up the former Governor both in Church and State, that we may be no longer without King, without Prieſt, and without God in the World*, &c. There were above ten thouſand 'of this new Liturgy diſpers'd among the Party, 'which they us'd in their Cabals, laying aſide

Riſe of Jacobite Plots.

'a great Part, and ſometimes all the old Litur-
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'caſhier'd Officers. King *William* being neceſ-
'ſarily abſent in *Ireland*, and the Nation de-
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'ters thought this a good Time to put their
'Deſigns in Execution; and in order to it, at
'one of their general Meetings in *London*, it
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'federate, to his Throne, and in breaking the
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'ing.

Aſſaſſina-tion Plot.

NOR were they more ready to ask Help of *this Patron* of the Oppreſs'd, under which Character they addreſs him, than he was to promiſe it; ſo that a conſtant Correſpondence was kept up between the *French* Court and the *Engliſh* Jacobites, and they were fed with Hopes from time to time of ſuch powerful Succours from thence, as would effectually do their Work: However, War being uncertain, and the Preparations for it tedious, as they found, they reſolve upon another Courſe, which they hop'd might be more ſpeedy, and more effectual, and that was, *to aſſaſſinate King William*, which was to be undertaken and perpetrated beyond-ſea: The Inſtruments of this helliſh Fact were

Granville

Granvaile and *Dumont*, who design'd to have done it while the King was at *Loo*; but miſſing their Opportunity, they follow'd his Majeſty to his Camp in *Flanders*, from whence *Granvaile* return'd to the *French* Army, and *Dumont* according to Orders given him, entred into the Confederate Army, that he might take his Opportunity when his Majeſty went to viſit the Grand Guard on the Lines, to *ſhoot him in the Back*, and then make his Eſcape to a Body of Horſe that *Granvaile* and Colonel *Parker*, the chief Contriver of this bloody Deſign, ſhould have in Readineſs to carry him off. But Providence took Care of the Preſervation of *Europe* (to uſe the Words of a late Hiſtorian) that ſo viſibly depended upon his Majeſty's ſingle Life: Whether *Dumont*'s Heart fail'd him, or his Confederates deſerted him, or whatever elſe was the reſtraining Cauſe, he gave over for this Year the accurs'd Project.

England threatned with an Invaſion, and *French* Fleet burnt at *La Hogue* 1692.

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In Purſuit of theſe Meaſures, King *James* ſent over his Declarations, ſetting forth his Right, inciting People to joyn him at his Landing, threatning ſuch as oppoſed him; and, which was more to the Purpoſe, the *French* King put to Sea a powerful Fleet, engag'd the *Engliſh*, but was beaten, and moſt of their beſt Ships burnt at *La Hogue*, *May* 23. 1692.

THIS Diſappointment very ſenſibly ſtruck the Jacobites, as it did their Maſter, who thereupon wrote a Letter of Condolence and Lamentation to the *French* King, telling him, that he had hitherto with ſome Conſtancy ſupported the Weight of all his Misfortunes, ſo long as himſelf was the only Sufferer; but he acknowledg'd this laſt Diſaſter utterly overwhelm'd him, in relation to what concern'd his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, thro' the great Loſs that had befallen his Fleet; that he knew too well, that it was *his own unlucky Star* that had drawn this Misfortune upon his Forces, always Victorious, but when they fought for his Intereſts: Therefore, he intreated his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to concern himſelf no longer with one ſo unfortunate as himſelf, but permit him to retire with his Family to ſome Corner of the World, where he might ceaſe to obſtruct the uſual Courſe of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Proſperities and Conqueſts: But the *French Monarch*, conſtant only in ſuch Service as this, promis'd never to abandon him; and he found his Party in *England* ſtill ready to encourage and aſſiſt him in any further Attempts.

I ſhall only take Notice of one Effort more, which indeed was their main, and in a manner, laſt Effort, that was any thing threatning. In 1696. they renew the double Plot of invading the Nation and Murdering the King: Several Conſultations are held by the Ring-Leaders of the Party,

The Aſſaſſination Plot renewed.

Party, for the Management of their Affairs, particularly one in *May* 1695, at the *Old King's Head Tavern*, in *Leaden Hall Street*, London; where met the Earl of *Ailesbury*, the Lord *Montgomery*, Sir *John Friend*, Sir *William Perkins*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Mr. *Charnock*, Captain *Porter*, Mr. *Cook* and Mr. *Goodman*. There they conſulted the beſt way to reſtore the late King; and all agreed, that the moſt proper Method was, to ſend a ſpecial Meſſenger to his Majeſty, and deſire him to procure of the *French* King ten Thouſand Men, *viz.* One Thouſand Horſe, as many Dragoons, and eight Thouſand Foot. Mr. *Charnock* was the Perſon they pitch'd on to manage this Affair; who ſaid, he would not go on a fooliſh Errand; and therefore would know what the Company would do, if Foreign Forces could be procur'd? Whereupon they all unanimouſly promis'd, That if King *James* would come over with ſuch a Number of Men as was deſir'd, they would meet him at the Head *of two Thouſand Horſe*, wherever he would appoint them. At the latter end of *June*, they had another Meeting, where after many Diſcourſes upon the Subject, Mr. *Charnock* receiv'd a further Confirmation of their Reſolutions, and thereupon took his Journey into *France*.

THE Invaſion being thus promoted, that the Aſſaſſination might keep pace with it, Care was taken to procure a Commiſſion to the Conſpirators, to ſeize the Perſon of the Prince of *Orange*, who alledge that nothing of that kind could be attempted, without a Commiſſion from King *James*: This it ſeems was their Scruple, which Captain *Porter* and Mr. *Goodman* communicated to Sir *George Barclay*, who was then in *England*, and upon his Departure for *France*, telling him what Difficulties they labour'd under, for want

The Conſpirators get a Commiſſion from King *James* to Murder K *William*.

of a *Commission*; and that a longer Delay of sending it over, would certainly put a stop to the Affair. Sir *George* not only approves, but commends the Design (of Assassinating the King) and that such a hopeful Project might not miscarry, promises to use all his Interest at *St. Germains*, that the Commission might no longer be wanting. The beginning of *August* 1695. brings Mr. *Charnock* again to *London*, with the unwelcome News, that the King of *France* was not in a Condition to spare King *James* so many Men, which being Communicated to the Party, the Design was laid aside till Winter.

BUT notwithstanding this positive Answer, the *French* at the same time were taking such Measures as might suit with the Jacobite Request, tho' they durst not trust them with the Secret: Nay, not King *James* himself, till a Squadron of Men of War, and near four Hundred Transport Ships were fitted; and the *French* Army consisting of thirty Batallions were ready to Embark, and Money and Directions sent his Majesty to go on Board and take Possession of *England*.

Sir *George Barclay* comes from *France* with K. *James*'s Commission, and to set forward the Assassination.

IN *October* 1695. Sir *George Barclay*, who had formerly been a General Officer. and was then in *France* an Officer in King *James*'s Guards, came over into *England*, and brought with him the Commission mention'd before from the *late King*, to Attack and Seize the Prince of *Orange* in his Winter Quarters, or levy War upon the Prince of *Orange* and all his Adherents. And with him, and about the same time, two and twenty more of King *James*'s Guards and Officers who had all Instructions to obey the Orders of Sir *George*, came also into *England*.

SIR *George Barclay* and his Men being arriv'd at *London*, they endeavour to strengthen their Party by the Addition of Major *Lowick*, Mr. *Knight*.

Knightly, Mr. *Bertram*, Mr. *Rookwood*, Mr. *La-Rue*, Mr. *Goodman*, Captain *Porter*, *Chambers*, *Durant*, *Cranburn*, *Kendrick*, *Grimes* and *Waugh*; ſome of which were engag'd in the Aſſaſſination the Year before. Thoſe that came from *France* knew not the Particulars of what they were ſent about, being kept in a blind Obedience to *Barclay*'s Orders; but thoſe in *England* were Privy to the whole Deſign, and tho' ſome of them ſtartled at its firſt being propos'd to them, yet the Authority of King *James*'s Commiſſion, and their imaginary Proſpects of large Rewards at his Return, made them conſent to hazard their Lives in it. Several Conſultations were held, and ſeveral Ways propos'd to effect what they aim'd at: Some were for ſeizing his Majeſty, and carrying him alive into *France*; and to that Purpoſe a Feint was made, that a Caſtle on the Sea ſide was ſecur'd to detain the King till a Ship was ready to Tranſport him over; but the more wicked among them, that underſtood what was meant by *Seizing the Prince of* Orange's Perſon, laugh'd at this as a meer Chimera. Others propos'd to kill his Majeſty at *Kenſington*, by attacking his Guards, and forcing his Palace in the Dead of the Night; but this upon weighing the Difficulties, was found wholly Impracticable. Others again were for Murdering the King, as he came on Sunday to *St. James*'s Chappel, for which Purpoſe forty Men well Arm'd were to Attack his Majeſty's Guards, which before the Diſcovery of the Plot, did not exceed twenty five, whilſt ſix Men on Foot ſhould ſhut *Hide Park Gate*, and the reſt Aſſaſſinate his Majeſty. It was propos'd alſo to kill the Coach-Horſes, as they were entring into the *Park*; that the Paſſage being ſtopt, the Guards might not be able to come up till the *Aſſaſſines* had done their Work.

Several Propoſals how to kill the King.

Work. Another Propoſal was to Murder the King as he return'd from Hunting, in a narrow Lane, by a Wood-ſide, near *Richmond*, leading to the *Thames*, on the other ſide of the Water, about a hundred and fifty Paces long, in which there is a Gate, that when ſhut, hinders Coaches and Horſes from coming that Way. One of the Conſpirators was ſent to View this Ground, and another to Survey the Land above mentioned; but Sir *George Barclay*, the chief Director of this wicked Enterprize, did not approve that Place, and ſo that Project was alſo laid aſide. At laſt they all fixt upon a Place between *Turnham Green* and *Brentford*, in a mooriſh Bottom, where there is a Bridge, and divers Roads that croſs one another. On the North ſide, there is a Road which goes round *Brentford*, and on the South a Lane that leads to the River, ſo that Paſſengers may come thither ſeveral ways. After you have paſs'd the Bridge, the Road goes narrow; having on one ſide a Foot Path, and on the other a high thick Hedge; here the barbarous Parracide was to be committed: And indeed, all Circumſtances conſider'd, a fitter Place could hardly have been found, for his Majeſty often return'd late from Hunting, and uſually paſs'd thro' this Lane after his Landing at *Queen's Ferry*, with no greater Attendance than five or ſix of his Guards. It was alſo his Majeſty's Cuſtom to enter the Ferry-Boat in his Coach, and as ſoon as he Landed on this ſide the Water, the Coach drove on without expecting the reſt of his Guards, who could not croſs the *Thames* till the Boat return'd to the *Surrey* Side to bring them over; and ſo the reſt of his Guards could not have come to his Aſſiſtance. For this purpoſe the Conſpirators were divided into three Parties, and were to make their Approaches three ſeve-

ſeveral ways: One of which was to Attack the Guards in the Front, the other in the Rear, whilſt ten or twelve of the bloodieſt amongſt them, were to Aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in the Coach.

THE 15th Day of *February*, was the Day appointed to act this helliſh Tragedy, and the Conſpirators having long kept two Men at *Kenſington* to watch the King's going to Hunt, which was commonly every Saturday; (one of theſe *orderly* Men, (for ſo they call them) brought them word that the King did not go Abroad that Day This Diſappointment was attended with the Fears of a Diſcovery, and thereupon *Plouden*, *Kendrick* and *Sherburn*, the moſt timorous of all the Plotters, declin'd the Action and withdrew themſelves; but Sir *George Barclay*, Sir *William Perkins*, Captain *Porter* and Mr. *Goodman*, concluding the Deſign was not diſcover'd, from their not being taken up by the Government, they had another Meeting, and there reſolv'd to execute their Bloody Project; on *Saturday* the 21ſt of *February*. That Forenoon was ſpent in a tedious Expectation of the News, that the King was gone Abroad; but inſtead of that Account, *Keys*, one of the *orderly* Men at *Kenſington*, brought Advice, that the Guards were all come back in a Foam, and that there was a Muttering among the People, *That a Damnable Plot* was diſcover'd: This aſtoniſhing News alarm'd and diſpers'd all the Conſpirators, and drove them to ſhift for themſelves, by a ſpeedy Flight.

NOR was *Keys*'s Report, and their Apprehenſions groundleſs; for the Plot, and every Step of it from time to time, had been diſcovered by *Richard Fiſher*, and ſomething of it by Mr. *Grimes*, to the Earl of *Portland*. *Fiſher* had his Knowledge of it from *Harriſon* the Prieſt, who took

The Plot diſcover'd.

took him to be one of their Party; and *Grimes* had ſome dark Hints from another; but both refuſing to give his Lordſhip the Names of the Conſpirators, little Credit was given to their Informations, till they were confirm'd by other Teſtimonies.

Mr. *Pendergraſs*, who was wholy ignorant of the Deſign till he was ſent for to *London*, being ſtruck with Horror at the firſt Propoſal of it, even then took up a Reſolution to ſave his Majeſty's Life; tho' the better to manage his intended Diſcovery, he ſeem'd willing to engage in the Enterprize. This Gentleman, on the 14th of *February* at Night, went to the Earl of *Portland*, and being admitted to Privacy with his Lordſhip, tho' wholly a Stranger, without further Addreſs, accoſted his Lordſhip with this ſurprizing Requeſt: *Pray*, my Lord, *perſwade the King to ſtay at Home to Morrow, for if he goes Abroad to Hunt he will be murder'd.* The ſame Night, tho' late, he was introduc'd to his Majeſty, and diſcover'd the whole Plot; and his whole Deportment ſhewing him to be a Man of Honour, a great Streſs was laid upon his Information. The next Day after, Mr. *De la Rue* made the ſame Diſcovery, which he would have done before, but that his Friend Brigadier *Lewſon* who deſign'd to introduce him to the King, was gone out of Town. Upon his Return to *London*, Brigadier *Lewſon* acquainted the King that Mr. *De la Rue* had inform'd him of a Deſign carrying on to Aſſaſſinate his Majeſty; and propos'd a way, if the King thought fit, how all the Conſpirators might be taken in Arms. *Thomas Pendergraſs* and *De la Rue* acted upon a ſeparate Bottom; yet they punctually agreed in all the Circumſtances of the Conſpiracy, which render'd their Diſcovery unqueſtionable: But yet, both perem-

peremptorily refus'd to name the Conſpirators, which might have been of fatal Conſequence; if the Earl of *Portland* had not found the happy Expedient to prevent it; by perſwading his Majeſty to give himſelf the Trouble of examining them ſeparately in his Cloſet. The King having accordingly examin'd Mr. *Pendergraſs* before the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Cuts*, and Mr. *De la Rue* before the ſame Earl, and Brigadier *Lewſon*, his Majeſty ſhew'd himſelf extreamly well ſatisfy'd in the Truth of their Diſcoveries, and in a very obliging manner expreſs'd his Reſentment for their Generoſity, in the great Care and Zeal they ſhew'd for the Preſervation of his Life, and the Safety of the Kingdom; and at laſt gave them ſuch unanſwerable Reaſons, why as Men of Honour, and Lovers of their Country, they ſhould compleat their Duty and Affection by naming the Conſpirators, as quite overcame their former unwillingneſs, and and prevail'd with them to tell the Names of the *Aſſaſſins*, under the Promiſe of not being made uſe of as Evidences. But not many Days after Mr. *Pendergraſs* hearing that Mr. *Porter*, who engag'd him in the Plot, had by an allowable Stratagem been frighted into a Diſcovery, and accus'd him; he thought himſelf diſcharg'd from any Obligation of Honour in concealing it, and therefore afterwards came in as an Evidence at *Charnock*'s Trial.

UPON this a Proclamation was iſſued out for Apprehending the Conſpirators, with the Promiſe of a Thouſand Pound Reward for every one that ſhould be taken and brought to Juſtice: Several came in, confeſs'd the Fact, and made large Diſcoveries of the Particulars; ſome Fled and others were Taken, and at the Gallows and Scaffold receiv'd the due Reward of their black and helliſh

Execution of Sir *John Friend.*

liſh Enterprize; moſt of 'em died owning and defending the Crime charg'd upon them; Sir *John Friend* declar'd he firmly believ'd the Cauſe he ſuffer'd for was the Cauſe of God and true Religion; and among other Things pray'd, *That God would deliver this ſinful Nation from the Guilt of Rebellion, Blood and Perjury; Comfort the diſtreſs'd* King, *reſtore him to his Right, and his miſled Subjects to their Allegiance; That he would Bleſs his Royal Conſort, and his Royal Highneſs the Prince of* Wales, *and grant that he might grow* in Stature and in Favour with God and Man; and in the like Sentiments and Temper died Sir *William Perkins*; and yet both of theſe Gentlemen were abſolv'd at the Place of Execution by Mr. *Jeremy Collier*, (a Non-juring Clergyman of the Church of *England*) and two others, who us'd the Form of Abſolution in the Office for the Viſitation of the Sick; and to add the greater Solemnity to it, accompanied the Abſolution *with Impoſition of Hands*; for which they were *deſervedly* cenſur'd by the Biſhops.

AND thus another Plot, as horrid as could well enter into the Minds of Men, was *happily and ſeaſonably defeated:* And herein *England, Britain, Europe*, again deliver'd —— *Hitherto the Lord has help'd us*!

IT exceedingly added to the Mortification of the Tories and Jacobites, that the Year after, 1697. at the Peace of *Ryſwick*, the *French* King was forc'd to abandon his Dependant King *James*, notwithſtanding he had openly declar'd, he would never lay down his Arms till he had reſtor'd him to his Throne This ſtrangely dejects the Diſappointed Prince, and left him no other Relief than to appeal to the World in a Manifeſto, containing the Reaſons that ſhould engage the Confederate Catholick Princes to promote

mote his Reſtoration, an Expoſtulation of the Injuſtice done him, and a Proteſtation againſt what was done at *Ryſwick*, as Null in reſpect to the Violation of his Rights.

BUT neither King *James* nor his Friends yet gave up the Cauſe, ſtill they are waiting their Opportunity, and hatching Miſchief: No ſooner had the Peace open'd a free Paſſage between *England* and *France*, but the Government received Information, that the Duke of *Berwick*, Sir *George Barclay*, *Harriſon*, *Durant*, Collonel *Parker*, and ſeveral other Suſpicious Perſons were come over upon Treaſonable Deſigns, and a Proclamation was iſſued out for Apprehending them, promiſing the Reward of a Thouſand Pound for each: This was in 1697, and 1699 upon Disbanding the Army, the Papiſts and other Jacobites grew exceeding Inſolent, which put the Houſe of Commons upon an Addreſs to the King; wherein they take Notice of the great Concourſe of the Papiſts, and other Diſaffected Perſons to the City; of their keeping Horſes and Arms contrary to Law; their reſorting near the Two Houſes of Parliament, and even the Royal Palaces; adding, That they had certain Information of great Numbers of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits endeavouring to pervert his Majeſty's Subjects; That they Imported great Quantities of Popiſh Books: They conclude, deſiring effectual Care may be taken to ſuppreſs them. And thus they go on, purſuing ſuch kind of work, thro' all Diſcouragement.

THE next Year, 1701. it pleas'd God to remove out of the World *the Abdicated Monarch*, for whoſe Reſtoration they had ſtickled long; being broken with Reſentment and Sorrow, he fell into a Lethargy, and died at *St. Germains*, *September* 6, O. S. But the Cauſe did not die with him: K. *James's* Death, 1701.

Pretender Proclaim'd in *France*.

him: No ſooner is the Father dead, but *his pretended Son is ſet up in his ſtead*, and publickly Proclaim'd by Order of *Lewis* XIV. King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; which, as may well be ſuppos'd, was reſented by the great King *William*, (and indeed by the whole Nation) in a very ſenſible manner, and put him upon ſome vigorous Reſolutions; and whereas the preſent Parliament had ſhown themſelves no way fit to be depended upon in this extraordinary Juncture; the King was prevail'd with to Diſſolve it, and Call another, which met *October* 31, 1701. when his Majeſty made that memorable Speech, that prov'd his laſt, and is juſtly eſteem'd to exceed all that ever came from the Throne,

K. *William's* laſt Speech.

'Owning, ſays he, and ſetting up the *pretended* '*Prince of Wales* for King of *England*, is not on-'ly the higheſt Indignity offer'd to me and the 'Nation, but does ſo nearly concern every Man 'who has a Regard for the Proteſtant Religion, 'or the preſent and future Happineſs of his 'Country, that I need not preſs you to lay it 'ſeriouſly to Heart, and to conſider what fur-'ther effectual Means may be us'd for ſecuring 'the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, and ex-'tinguiſhing the Hopes of all Pretenders, and 'their Open and Secret Abettors. He adds, — 'You have *yet* an Opportunity, by the Bleſſing 'of God, to ſecure to you and your Poſterity 'the quiet Enjoyment of your Religion and Li-'berties, if you are not wanting to your ſelves; 'but will exert the antient Vigour of the *Engliſh* 'Nation: But I tell you plainly, my Opinion 'is, *if you do not lay hold on this Occaſion*, you 'have no reaſon to hope for another.

NONE that knew the State and Poſture of Affairs at that time; what Inroads the *French* King

King had made upon the *Dutch*; that he had added the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to his own Dominions, and had provided (as far as he could) to fill the *Britiſh* Throne with one of his own Creatures; will wonder at the Zeal and Warmth of this Speech: The Vigilant Prince foreſaw the Storm approaching, and thought himſelf obliged to give a Solemn Warning, as he had from the ſame Precaution taken Meaſures beyond Seas for the publick Safety, concluding ſeveral Alliances, (with the States General, the Emperor, &c.) Indeed nothing was omitted by him, he thought neceſſary to preſerve the Liberties of *Europe*; but he had not leave to Proſecute any of his great Deſigns; his Indiſpoſition kept him in *Holland* longer than was intended, and when he came back he found his Strength ſo ſenſibly impar'd, that he told the Earl of *Portland* he did not expect to live another Summer, charging his Lordſhip at the ſame time, to keep it Secret till he was dead: On the 21ſt of *February*, he got a Fall from his Horſe, and broke his Collar-Bone; and on the 8th of *March*, 1701-2. died, *to the inexpreſſible Grief* of all true Lovers of their Country and Religion.

K. *Williams* Death.

THE *Jacobites* not only Triumph in his Death, it being the Revival of their Hopes; but ſhow their Spite to that Degree of Indecency, as in their Clubs to drink Healths to *Sorrel*, the Horſe from which his Majeſty fell; and ſome of them went ſo far as to Celebrate the Praiſes of the *Brute*, and even Canonize their Brother in a * Latin Epigram, which if it have any Wit in it, has a great deal more Malice.

Jacobites exceedingly elated at the Death of King *William*.

* *Illuſtris Sonipes certè digniſſime Cælo,*
Cui Leo, cui Taurus, cui dabit Urſa locum.
Quæ te fælicem, fælicia prata tulere,
Ubera quæ fælix præbuit Alma Parens.

BUT the Hopes of the Party were not a little dash'd, when they saw the Queen resolv'd to pursue the Measures of the late King; to confirm the Alliances he had entred into, and to carry on the War according to the *excellent Plan*, he had left; which she did with such a Series of Successes for eight Campaigns together, under the Conduct of the *Great Marlborough*, that no History can Parallel: Every Year extended her Majesty's Conquests, and humbled the *French* Monarch to that degree, that he was reduc'd to the Condition of begging Peace; and instead of imposing Kings on his Neighbours, was glad to Compound for his own Dominions, which was well enough express'd in an Inscription in one of their *Piramidal Illuminations*, on occasion of a publick Rejoycing.

The Glorious Success of Q. *Anns* Arms

As threatning Spain *did to* Eliza *bow*,
So France *and* Spain *shall do to* Anna *now*;
France *that Protects false Claims t'another*
(*Throne*
Shall find enough to do to keep her own.

AND in this State things continue till the Year 1710. when a Scene open'd that was the Surprize and Amazement of the greatest part of *Europe*, but is now perfectly well understood to be, what Multitudes before thought, *a Plot in favour of the Pretender*. The Particulars of this strange Event, I can't pretend to give in the Close of a short History, and therefore shall

Hibernis Patriam venisti ulturus, ab Oris;
Aut Glenco, aut stirps te † Fæniciana dedit. † Fenwick
Sis felix quicunque precor, Memorande nec unquam,
Jam Sella Dorsum, fræna nec ora premant.
Humani generis Vindex, Moriente Tyranno,
Hanc Libertatem quam dabis, ipse tene.

leave the fuller Account to Sir *R—— d S——'s Folio* in ſeveral Languages: However as they directly concern the preſent Subject, and muſt be eſteem'd the blackeſt Tragedy we have yet met with, I muſt by no means wholly paſs 'em over.

THERE had been before this time (to look a little back) Several Attempts of the *Jacobite Party*, to reſtore, as they call it, their King (*i. e.*) *to ſet up the Pretender*: Her Majeſty in Her Speech to the Parliament, *October* 17, 1703. tells them, *She had unqueſtionable Informations of very ill Practices and Deſigns, carried on in* Scotland *by Emiſſaries from* France, *which might have prov'd extreamly dangerous to the Peace of theſe Kingdoms*: And on the 22d of *March* following, the Lords upon the Examination of the Matter, reſolv'd it did appear to them, there had been a dangerous Conſpiracy carried on, for raiſing a Rebellion in *Scotland*, and Invading that Kingdom with a *French* Power: Mr. *Lock—t* remarks here, that notwithſtanding the Lords were ſo clear (in the Buſineſs of a Plot) there was not one unbyaſs'd Perſon that did not ſee it was all Trick and Villany; which is certainly a Cenſure free enough for a Gentleman, when by his own Confeſſion, Plotting one way or another, was the conſtant Trade of the Party, and the Queen and Houſe of Lords thought they had ſufficient Evidence *of this Plot*.

Jacobite Plot.

Memoirs of *Scotland*, *p.* 92.

IN 1705. while the Union between the two Kingdoms was Negotiating, the Party invite over the Pretender, and Sollicite *France* to make an Invaſion; the Author of the Memoirs juſt now mention'd, takes Notice, 'That the *Treaty* '(*of Union*) being brought to its Commencement, 'the Temper and Diſpoſition of the *Scotch* Na- 'tion was very much towards the (pretended) 'King; and that the Intereſt of the diſtreſs'd

p. 196. Plots againſt the Government in *Scotland*.

'*Royal Family*, encreas'd very much in the 'Kingdom; accounts of which were from time 'to time tranſmitted to the *French* King, who 'ſeem'd to be in earneſt to do ſomething for our 'Royal Family's Intereſt; and for this End 'diſpatch'd one *Hooks*, who arriv'd at *Edinburgh* 'in the Month of *Auguſt*, or thereby 1706. 'with Letters from the *French* King and King '*James*, to the Duke of *Hamilton*, the E—of '*E*——*l*, the E —— M—l, and E— of '*H*——*me*, exhorting them to ſtand up for 'the Intereſt of *the diſtreſs'd Royal Family*, and 'promiſing to aſſiſt the *Scots* (his dearly beloved 'and antient Allies) in ſo good a Deſign as Re-'ſtoring their King to his Thrones; empower-'ing *Hooks* to receive Propoſals, and deſiring 'them to ſend over to *France*, one fully inſtru-'cted to Treat and Conclude with him for that 'Effect: The *Cavaliers* told him, they were 'willing to do every thing that could in reaſon 'be demanded of them, for advancing the King's 'Service, and would, as they were deſired, ſend 'over one in a little time, to Confer with King '*James* and the King of *France*; with which 'Anſwer he (*Hooks*) return'd to *France*: Ac-'cordingly they ſent over Captain *Henry St---n*, 'being a Perſon of entire Honour and Honeſty, 'and every way qualified for ſuch an Employ-'ment. The Captain waited ſome time for Mr. '*L*——*t*'s Return from the Treaty (he being 'one of the Commiſſioners) which was about the 'latter end of *July* 1706. Beſides what concern-'ed the Treaty, Mr. *L*——*t* alſo acquainted 'him, that he had pump'd the Tories in *Eng-'land*, to know what they would do in Caſe the 'King came over, particularly had found means 'to underſtand the *D*——of *L*——*s*, the 'L—— G—— ll, and found that the *En-*

gliſh

'*liſh* Tories were much more cautious than the '*Scotch*, they being of Opinion that no At-'tempts were to be made during Queen *Anne*'s 'Life: However, the Captain ſails for *France*, 'and was kindly receiv'd, but could bring no-'thing to a Concluſion. The Battles of *Rame-'lies* and *Turin* had ſo diſconcerted the King's 'Meaſures, that he was not in a Capacity to 'afford either Men or Money at that time for 'our King's Service, notwithſtanding King '*James* told him, that he long'd extremely to 'be among his *Scotch* Friends, and oblig'd him 'to give in Writing, and ſign'd, a Character of 'every Man in the *Scotch* Parliament, as they 'ſtood affected to him, and were capable to 'ſerve him, and then he was diſmiſs'd with 'fair Promiſes from the *French* King, of doing 'all that could be expected at another Time; 'and with Letters from King *James* to the 'Duke of *H——n*, E —— of *E——l*, E—— '*M——l* and *U——ſt*. And thus, ſays he, 'theſe two Negociations came to no Effect at 'this Time. In the Interim, the People's In-'clinations towards King *James* ſtill increas'd, 'and his Intereſt prevail'd *more and more* over 'all the Kingdom.

IN the Year 1708, upon concluding the Union, the *enrag'd Jacobites* openly declare themſelves for the *Pretender*, and attempt to ſet him upon the *Britiſh* Throne: To which Purpoſe they encourag'd him to invade the Kingdom, as he actually did with a conſiderable Force. This was, as I ſaid, upon the Union; and that the Reader may know what Influence the Union had in the Affair, he need only reflect, that there was nothing the whole Jacobite Faction *had more at Heart* than the Union, *i. e.* nothing they hated more (which henceforth

The *Pretender* invades *Scotland*.

must be look'd upon one Senſe, if not the only proper Senſe of that Phraſe) for whilſt the *Scotch* had not yet fallen in with the *Engliſh* Settlement in the Houſe of *Hanover*, they thought they had ſtill a Door open for the *Pretender*, for whom they reſerv'd the Crown; And hence they riſe up with the utmoſt Clamour on every Motion that was made and Step that was taken for the accompliſhing the Union; they cry out of the Treaty it ſelf, *as a betraying the Liberties of their Country*; proteſt againſt all that was done from time to time, and oppoſe it with Might and Main. The famous *Author of the Memoirs* (who was in all the Intreagues of the Faction, and who has, againſt his Will, expos'd them to the World) having taken Notice that the Act for a Treaty of Union was voted and approved, makes this Reflection, *From this Day*, ſays he, *may we date the Commencement of* Scotland's *Ruin.*

The Jacobites violently oppoſe the Union.

WHEN the Articles agreed upon by the Commiſſioners, came to be debated in the *Scotch* Parliament, they not only wrangle and proteſt againſt every Article themſelves, but ſtir up all they could throughout the Kingdom to petition and proteſt, and do every thing that might obſtruct the dreaded Union: And when at laſt they ſaw theſe Methods were ineffectual, they reſolve to make uſe of another ſort of Arguments, and by an arm'd Force hinder the Proceedings of the Parliament: 'To which Purpoſe, ſays the 'Memoirs, one *Cunningham* of *Eckatt*, being diſ-'guſted, and taking the Ruin of his Country 'mightily to Heart, undertook to head many 'Thouſands of the Malecontents, who were to 'march to *Edinburgh*, and diſpute the Articles 'of the Union with Sword in hand; and he 'brought Matters to ſuch a Conſiſtency (adds

my

'my Author, that provided concerted Meaſures had been kept, *he had rais'd the Parliament with a Vengeance!*' Mr. *Cunningham*'s chief Intereſts, as the Memoirs repreſents it, lay in the *Weſtern* Shires, where he had diſcours'd great Numbers, and found them to be of Opinion with himſelf, *That there was no way to ſave the Nation, but firſt by raiſing the Parliament, and then declaring for King* James. My Author makes a Queſtion of it, Whether this Gentleman was a *Court-Spy*, or in earneſt? But at the ſame time declares his Opinion that he was ſincere. I know the Major *(Cunningham)* has own'd a great deal of the Matter of Fact; but alledges, what he undertook was for the Service of the Government, and accordingly he acquainted ſome great Men then in the Adminiſtration with all that paſs'd.

THIS Project being diſappointed (and my Author imputes it to Duke *Hamilton*, who did not think fit at that Time to venture in it) another Stratagem was made uſe of to undermine the Union, if poſſible, which was propos'd by Duke *Hamilton*. The Parliament having advanc'd to the twenty ſecond Article of the Union, *the Duke* conven'd a great Number of thoſe that had oppos'd the Union, and pathetically exhorted them not to look back upon what might be thought done amiſs by any, but to go forwards, *now at the laſt Hour*, to do ſomething to ſave the Nation, juſt come to the Brink of Ruin: To which, after all preſent had declar'd their chearful Concurrence, tho' the Conſequence ſhould be never ſo fatal, his Grace propos'd, that the Marquis of *An———le* ſhould renew his Motion *of proceeding to ſettle the Crown in the Houſe of* Hanover; and as it was not to be queſtion'd the ſame would be rejected, that

Memoir. pag. 293.

a Proteſtation ſhould be enter'd, and adher'd to by all that were againſt the Union, who ſhould in a Body together, immediately after, make a Separation from the other Members, *by leaving the Houſe, not to return again.* After ſome Conſide-
pag. 322. ration, the Party eagerly came into this Meaſure; only one Thing ſtuck with them, their mentioning their having been willing to ſettle the Succeſſion on the *Houſe of Hanover*, which they ſaid, was a kind of an Obligation to make their Refuge to that Family, *&c.* whereas their Deſign was, *and ever had been*, to preſerve the Nation, and at the ſame time *to reſtore the King to the Throne*, which they thought the preſent Temper of the People would very much advance. To which the Duke of *Hamilton* return'd, that it could draw no Obligation upon them to adhere to the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Hanover*, ſince they did not proteſt againſt the Motion's being rejected, the Narrative only bearing the true Matter of Fact, *viz.* That ſuch a Propoſal had actually been made; and even ſuppoſing it was otherwiſe, it was not the firſt time they had made *greater Stretches with a Deſign that Good might come of it*; and he hop'd this would be the laſt, which (as ſorry a Pretence as it was) brought over the whole Party, who impatiently waited for the
pag. 324. Execution of the Project; inſomuch, that great Numbers of Gentlemen and eminent Citizens flock'd together that Morning (when the Proteſt was to be made) about the Parliament-Houſe, *to convey the ſeparating Members* —— But it ſeems the Duke again fail'd them; at firſt he excus'd himſelf from attending the Houſe that Day, on the Account of the Tooth-ach; but being ſham'd out of that Pretence, makes his Appearance. When he came to Parliament, he ask'd his Friends that were upon the Concert,

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who they had pitched upon to enter the Proteſtation: They told him, none ſo fit as his Grace, being a Perſon of the firſt Quality, and moſt Intereſt in the Nation, begging he would lead them on *at this Time*, and aſſuring him they would ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes; but nothing would do, he ſtill perſiſting in his Reſolution not to be the Preſenter of it, tho' he ſwore he would be the firſt Adherer; and ſo much Time was ſpent in wrangling upon this Point, that the Opportunity was loſt. What influenc'd the Duke thus to change his Mind, my Author is uncertain, but he obſerves that this created that Dryneſs between him and the *Cavaliers*, that for the future no other Meaſure was concerted, and every one did that which was right in his own Eyes; ſo that an happy Deſpair henceforth ſeiz'd the Party. The Union is preſently brought to Perfection, approv'd and ratify'd by the *Britiſh* Parliament, and *commenc'd on the Firſt of May*, 1707. *A Day*, ſays the Memoirs, *never to be forgot by Scotland*; a Day in which the *Scots* were ſtripp'd of what their Predeceſſors had gallantly maintain'd for many hundred Years; I mean, *their Independency and Sovereignty*: But he ſhould have ſaid, which no doubt was the true and greateſt Grievance, that it was *a Day* in which the Jacobites (who had been ſo long projecting the Enſlaving and Ruin of their Country) were ſtrip'd of their fond and pernicious Hopes, and a ſtrong Barrier was ſeaſonably form'd againſt a Popiſh Pretender.

The *Pretender* invades *Scotland*, 1707-8.

THE Party being exceedingly provok'd at theſe Diſappointmenis, reſolve once for all to make a *home Puſh for't*; and accordingly haſten over their Maſter. The Writer of the Memoirs tells us, that Matters were concerted in *Scot-*

Scotland for this Purpoſe *by Hooks*, mention'd before, who produc'd Letters, one from the King, *i. e. the Pretender*, and another from the *French* King, being his Credentials, and empowering him to treat with the People of *Scotland* about the King's Reſtoration; *and to recover the Nation's Sovereignty and ancient Privileges.* Beſides theſe Letters, he produc'd a long Paper, containing ſeveral Queries drawn by Monſieur *de Torcy*, relating to the Number of Men that could be rais'd in *Scotland*, and the Number of Men, Sum of Money, Arms, *&c.* neceſſary to be ſent from *France*. Theſe Queries were diſtinctly anſwer'd in a Paper tranſmitted to *France*, in which they give a full Account of the State of Affairs, repreſent the ſtrong Inclinations of the People to venture all for the King's Service, and earneſtly intreat him to come over as ſoon as poſſible: The Paper was ſign'd by about fifteen or ſixteen Noblemen and Gentlemen, whoſe Names (moſt of 'em) may be found in the Author.

UPON this Encouragement, and from ſome advantageous Change in the Poſture of his Affairs, the *French* King embarks in the Cauſe of the Pretender, and ſeems more in earneſt than ever before, not only by equiping a Fleet for his Service, but furniſhing him with all Neceſſaries for his Expedition; as Men, Money, fine Tents, a great deal of Gold and Silver, Plate of curious Workmanſhip, Cloaths for his future Life-Guards, Liveries for his Houſhold; and 'tis ſaid, the Day before the *Pretender* left *St. Germains*, to go for *Dunkirk*, from whence he was to embark, *Monſieur* went to take leave of him, and wiſh him Succeſs; and preſenting him with a Sword enrich'd with Diamonds of a conſiderable Value, deſired him always to remember,

member, *It was a* French *Sword.* The *Knight* of St. *George*, for that was the Name he aſſum'd in this Adventure, anſwer'd the Complement, with aſſuring his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, that if it was his good Fortune to get Poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Anceſtors, he would not content himſelf with returning him Thanks by Letters and Ambaſſadors, but would ſhew his Gratitude by Deeds, and come in Perſon to acknowledge his Majeſty's Protection and Aſſiſtance: To which the King reply'd, *he hop'd never to ſee him again.*

AFTER ſuch Preparations as theſe, little ſeem'd to remain, as they now thought, but to divide the Spoil. What Expectations the *French* King had from the Undertaking, may in part appear from his *Circular Letter* to his Miniſters in *Rome*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, and other Neutral Places, which I ſhall here ſubjoyn. 'I have 'long been of Opinion, that *the Aſſiſting the King* 'of *England* to poſſeſs the Throne of his Anceſtors, 'would be for the *General* Good of all *Europe*. 'I believe that Peace would be the Conſequence 'of its Succeſs, and that the Prince's Subjects 'will eſteem themſelves equally happy, in con'tributing to re-eſtabliſh him in the Place of 'his Predeceſſors, and in being themſelves de'liver'd from thoſe continual Impoſitions where'with they are overwhelm'd, to maintain a 'War altogether foreign to them.

'AS the *Scots* have yet more Reaſon than 'the *Engliſh* to be diſſatisfy'd with the preſent 'Government of *England*, it appears to me a 'convenient Opportunity to reſtore to that Na'tion their Lawful Sovereign, and to enable 'the Prince to deliver it from the Oppreſſion it 'has ſuffer'd *ſince the Revolution*, which hap'pen'd under the late King of *England*, *James* II.

'THESE

'THESE are the Reaſons which have determin'd me to equip a Squadron of my Ships at *Dunkirk*, and to furniſh the King of *England* with a conſiderable Number of my Troops, to accompany him to *Scotland*, to ſupport thoſe his faithful Subjects who ſhall declare for him.

'He left this Place Yeſterday to go to *Dunkirk*, in order to embark, and get with all Expedition to *Scotland*: His Intention is not to enter the Kingdom *by Right of Conqueſt*, but to oblige them to receive him as *Legal Poſſeſſor* of it. He will behave himſelf in like manner with reſpect to all his other Dominions, who ſhall pay the Obedience they owe him; and his Subjects will only be diſtinguiſh'd according to the Zeal and Affection they ſhew for him, without examining what Religion they profeſs, in which he leaves them to their entire Liberty.

'I have not thought of enlarging my Power by aſſiſting to re-eſtabliſh this Prince; 'tis *ſufficient* that I do an Act *of Juſtice*, in vindicating the Honour of Crown'd Heads, highly affronted in the Perſon of the late King, his Father; and my Wiſhes will be entirely accompliſh'd, if, by God's Bleſſing on my Endeavours, the Succeſs become the Means of procuring a laſting Peace, ſo neceſſary to all *Europe*.

'AS this Reſolution of mine will ſoon ſpread it ſelf thro' all *Europe*, my Will is, that you ſpeak of it in the manner I direct you.

Given at *Verſailles* this 8th Day of *March*, 1708.

NOR did the *Father* of the Church come behind *his eldeſt Son*, in a Concern for ſo glorious

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a Cauſe; but ſhew'd his Zeal, not only in contributing to the Charge of this Expedition, but (which was as much in his way) appointed publick Prayers of forty Hours in the *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Churches for its Succeſs, and granted Indulgences to ſuch as would lend a charitable Hand, and devoutly joyn in putting up thoſe Prayers.

THE *Knight* being thus provided with Men, Money, and the Pope's Bleſſing, ſets forward in Purſuit of his Crown, ſailing from *Dunkirk* on Board the *French* Fleet, commanded by Count de *Fourbin*, *March* 19. N. S. of which he gave his Friends Notice by Mr. *Cha. Flemming*, Brother to the Earl of *Wigton*, whom, ſays Mr. *Lock—t*, he diſpatch'd to *Scotland* for that purpoſe; and with him ſent Inſtructions how they were to behave, and particularly deſiring them not to ſtir till they were ſure he was landed, and that then they ſhould ſecure all the Horſes, Money, Arms and Proviſions of ſuch as were not well affected to him, and even their Perſons, if poſſible. Mr. *Flemming* was further order'd to cauſe Pilots to meet him at the Mouth of the *Firth* of *Forth*, and guide his Fleet up the ſame, he being reſolv'd to land at the South-ſide thereof, at or about *Dunbar*; and how welcome the News was in *Scotland*, the Memoirs intimates, which ſays, 'That nothing was to be heard there but Prayers 'for a lucky Voyage; and when the Time drew 'near, moſt People ſlipp'd privately out of '*Edinburgh* to the Country, to prepare themſelves for joining the *King*.

IN the mean time, the Government of *England* having Intelligence of the Deſign, and the Preparations, omits nothing that was thought neceſſary to diſappoint the Enemy, and ward off the Blow. Ten Battalions are ſent for from *Holland*;

Holland; which under Convoy of Admiral *Baker*, embark'd at *Oſtend*, *March* 28. N. S. and in three Days arriv'd at *Tinmouth*. A conſiderable Fleet was fitted out under the Command of Sir *George Bing*, conſiſting of twenty three *Britiſh* Ships, three *Dutch* Men of War, and one *Britiſh* Fire-Ship, which firſt ſail'd towards *Dunkirk*, to obſerve the Enemies Motions; and afterwards being reinforc'd to the Number of above forty Men of War of the Line of Battle, beſides Frigats and Fire-Ships, purſued the *French* Fleet to the Coaſts of *Scotland*; and coming up with them before they could land any of their Forces, *utterly ſpoil'd the Project*. The Memoirs gives this Account of the Matter. 'The *French* Fleet, ſays the Author, arriv'd in 'the *Firth* of *Forth*, *Friday March* 12. O. S. 'where at Night they dropp'd Anchor, deſign- 'ing next Morning to have ſail'd up the River 'and landed; but perceiving the *Engliſh* Fleet 'was come upon them, they immediately cut 'their Anchors, and having a good Breeſe of 'Wind, ſtood out to the Ocean,' and ſo made a ſhift to get away with their *Champion*, and all his Treaſure, except one Ship, the *Salisbury*, which was taken by the *Engliſh*, with the Lord *Griffin* the Earl of *Middleton*'s two Sons, *&c.* on Board.

AND thus another Storm was blown over and the Friends of the Nation left to adore the Divine Providence in their Deliverance; and what abundant Reaſon they had to do ſo, may be infer'd in part from what the Author, ſo often mention'd before, obſerves, *viz.* 'That the 'Conſternation (upon the Invaſion) was ſo ge- 'neral, that the Publick Credit gave way to 'that degree, and there came ſuch a Demand of 'Money upon the *Bank*, that had the News of 'Sir *George Bing*'s chaſing the *French* off the

'*Scot*

'*Scotch* Coaſt, come a Day later, it had broke 'and been ſhut up, and with it the Credit of 'the Government; which alone, adds he, was 'a ſufficient Compenſation for all the Expence 'the *French* were at. Elſewhere, he tells us, 'that an Air of Jollity and Satisfaction was to 'be obſerv'd in every Perſons Face, on this Oc-'caſion, except ſuch *as were deeply ditt in the Re-'volution*, who were in the greateſt Terror and 'Confuſion.' And in another place, ſpeaking of the Complaint of the General, the Lord *Leven*, that the Tories were upiſh, he adds, 'upiſh they 'were indeed, expecting ſoon to have an Occaſi-'on of repaying him and his Fellow Rebels, in 'the ſame Coin, he and they had treated them, '*for theſe twenty years paſt.*' And none can doubt this was their Expectation, but their Triumph was but for a Moment; God was pleas'd again to diſappoint our Friends Fears and Enemies Hopes; in a few Days their Countenances fell, and they remain'd pining at the Nations Delive-rance; *hitherto the Lord helped us.*

The fatal Change in the Queens Counſels and Mea-ſures, 1710

I am now to return to the Subject I've a little diverted from, the *Annus Mirabilis* (1710.) and the ſtrange Revolution then brought about, at leaſt begun; which tho' I ſhan't pretend to de-ſcribe in all its Particulars, as I ſaid, I muſt however touch upon, that I may continue the horrid Story to the preſent time.

I have already hinted in how happy a State this Year found the Nation; the *Union* of the two Kingdoms (that difficult, hazardous, and yet important Affair) concluded after many for-mer Attempts had come to nothing: The *French* Power reduc'd, and the haughty Monarch put out of a Condition of annoying his Neighbours. The Proteſtant Succeſſion ſecur'd by a variety of wiſe Laws, and ſtrengthen'd by the Guaranty of

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our beſt Allies; and indeed as our Enemies had hitherto been remarkably baffled in all their Conſpiracies, their very Hopes ſeem'd now utterly to periſh.

WHILE on a ſudden, as if ſome *Malevolent Planet* had influenc'd her Counſels, or ſome hoſtile *Dæmon* had poſſeſs'd her Counſellors, *Britain* gives up all her Advantages, betrays her Securities, and delivers her ſelf into the Hands of her worſt Enemies; and, to raiſe them, ruin'd her ſelf. A Writer of ſome Fame, ſpeaking of the four laſt Years of the late Miniſtry, thus expreſſes himſelf, 'Not one bright Day, ſays he, 'To be ſeen in *England* for that time (*i. e.* four 'Years) but the whole *Hemiſphere* of *Britiſh* 'Affairs was vail'd under the blackeſt Cloud: 'The Sun of Proſperity has ſhin'd very clear on 'the *French* and *Spaniſh* Horizon: Their Vine 'and Figs have been ripen'd by the warm Beam 'ſent forth to them, from the Senate-Houſe 'and Council-Chamber at *London*; our Cold 'and Darkneſs, and their Heat and Light pro 'ceeded from thence.' And what Senſe the Commons of *Britain* have of the Conduct of Affairs at that time, may be learnt from their late Impeachment of the Lords and others taken at *Preſton*, 'Whereas, ſay they, for many Years 'paſt, a moſt wicked Deſign and Contrivance has 'been form'd and carry'd on, to ſubvert the 'Antient and Eſtabliſh'd Government, and 'good Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to Extirpate 'the true Proteſtant Religion, and to deſtroy 'its Profeſſors; and inſtead thereof to introduce and ſettle Popery and Arbitrary Power 'In which wicked Conſpiracy great Numbers 'Perſons of different Qualities have concern 'themſelves, and many Proteſtants pretending 'an uncommon Zeal for the Church of *England* 'have

The Senſe the Parliament had of the late Miniſtry's Conduct.

have united their Endeavours to accompliſh the aforeſaid wicked Deſigns——— Since the Settlement of the Crown of theſe Realms in the *Illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover*; the ſaid Conſpirators have been Indefatigable in their Endeavours to deſtroy the ſame, and to make way for the vain and groundleſs Hopes of a *Spurious Impoſtor* and Popiſh Pretender, to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms, and to accompliſh theſe Ends, the moſt unchriſtian and irregular Methods have been taken, *but more particularly in the laſt Years of the late Queen Anne.*

AND in their Preamble to the Land Tax-Bill of the laſt Seſſion, they take Notice, 'That all the Miſchiefs, Burdens and Calamities, which ſhall attend *this horrid Rebellion*, are in truth owing to fatal and pernicious Counſels given by ſome Perſons in the late Male-Adminiſtration; when under Pretence of procuring Peace Abroad, the preſent Deſtructive War was projected to be brought into the very Bowels of our Native Country at Home, when a *Popiſh Army* was deſign'd to be the Protector of our Holy Religion, *&c.*'

BUT I'm ſenſible there need no Authorities to prove, what all the World now ſees, *viz.* that the Meaſures *then purſued* were Calculated on purpoſe to ſubvert the *Act of Settlement*, and make way for the *Pretender: This was the Plot*; the Reader will excuſe me if I trace it thro' its ſeveral Steps, and take Notice how it began and was carried on; for how much ſoever this may ſeem to lye out of my way at other times, at preſent it falls directly in it.

The several Steps of the late Plot in favour of the Pretender.

1. We must reckon the *Change of the Ministry*, and Dissolution of the Parliament as the first Step. What Influence Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Sermon had upon this Change? Whether it was done by Concert, or the Man only spoke out of the Abundance of his own Heart, I shall not take upon me to conjecture; but 'tis plain it was greedily laid hold of, by one that stood behind the Curtain, watching his Opportunity to accomplish the Mischief he had devis'd: And 'tis as plain the *Tour* the Incendiary afterwards took up and down the Country to receive the Homage of the Mob, contributed not a little towards making a Parliament for the present Purpose, which indeed was chosen (in many Places) by meer Violence and Fury, and may properly go by the Name of Sachaverell's *and the Mobs Parliament*, if it be fit to distinguish the Head from the Body; the Parliament and the Ministry being

The *Change* of the Ministry.

* The Change was not all at once, but so much was done the first Year as show'd they were resolved to go thro' with their Work. *June* 14, 1710 the Earl of *Sunderland* was turned out, and Earl of *Dartmouth* made Secretary of State in his room: *August* 8, Lord *Godolphin* the Treasurer lost his Place, and was succeeded by the Earl of *Oxford*. *Sept.* 21. the Consummate States-Man the Lord *Sommers*, was removed from being President of the Council, and the Earl of *Rochester* (whom some remember to have been one of King *James*'s Ecclesiastical Commissioners) put in his Place: Another Ecclesiastical Commissioner, the Duke of *Buckingham* was made Steward of the Houshold, instead of that Noble Patriot the Duke of *Devonshire*. *Sept.* 27. *Henry St. John*, afterwards Lord *Bollingbroke*, was made Secretary of State in the room of Mr. *Boyle*. *Sept.* 29. Mr. *Walpole* was displaced from being Secretary of War, and succeeded by Mr. *Granville*. *Octob.* 19, the Duke of *Ormond* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the room of Lord *Wharton*; and at the same time Sir *Simon Harcourt* was made Lord Keeper in the room of the Lord *Cowper*, and *Constantine Phipps* Esq; made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*; the following Year the Lord *Townshend* was turned out; and the Duke of *Marlborough Decm.* 30. removed from all his Places, and the Duke of *Ormond* made Capt. General in his room: The Duke of *Argyle* was likewise turned out of all his Employments, and the famous Earl of *Mar* made Secretary of State.

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Changed, a Foundation was laid for all that was design'd, and Tools prepar'd (or at least preparing) for any work to be done; and what work they had to do, the Change it self sufficiently intimated, it being the grand distinguishing Principle of the former and later Ministry, (that which was now to be laid aside, and that chosen in its stead) that the one was *inviolably attach'd to the House of Hanover*, and the other had a *Squint Eye* to a different quarter; and have since discover'd several of 'em at least in the highest Trust) that they were deep in the Interest of the Pretender. Any one that has read the *Scotch* Memoirs, and observes how great a Correspondent and Confident the Duke of *H———n* was of the Pretender's, will easily understand the meaning of it, that he should not only be made Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lancaster*, but be pitch'd upon towards the Close of the last Reign, as Ambassador to the Court of *France*.

BUT I leave the Reader to his own Reflections here, and shall only observe how much this Turn of Affairs reviv'd the Hopes of our Enemies both at Home and Abroad; which is so well express'd in a Letter from a Minister of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s at *Versailles* to his Master, *October* 18, 1710. that I think it worth while to Transcribe, and here Insert it. 'Tis as follows:

A Letter of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Minister upon the Change of the Ministry.

'THE King has receiv'd certain Advice to 'Day that the *Parliament* of *England* is 'dissolv'd, and that the projected Change of the 'Ministry will go on. His Majesty did not 'defer one Moment to give me notice of it, that 'I might acquaint your *Electoral Highness* with 'it. 'Tis certain the Proclamation for a New 'Parliament and the general Change of the 'Ministry, will give great uneasiness to the

'*Dutch*, and make them think of Peace; *but* '*this Court will not give into it.*

'THERE is no doubt alſo, but the Duke of '*Marlborough* will quit the Command of the 'Army, becauſe the prevailing Party will leave 'him unprovided of every thing, to force him 'to it.

''Tis believed the Princes of *Germany* will 'recall their Troops as ſoon as *England* fails to 'pay them the uſual Subſidies; and this is what 'they extreamly fear in *Holland*.

'THE King ſets all Hands at work to find 'out Funds, that he may be able to continue 'the War; the Court being of Opinion that the '*Opportunity is now come*, and that good uſe 'ought to be made of *this favourable* Conjuncture, 'it being impoſſible that the Allies ſhould con-'tinue united, after what we have now ſeen in '*England*.

'WHO is there they can put at the Head of 'their Army, if the Duke of *Marlborough* quits 'the Command? I can't ſee there is one in *En-'gland* proper to fill the Place; for, beſides 'that he ſhould be a good Officer, he ſhould alſo 'be a Man of the Cabinet, who may have Credit 'and Authority with the Allies, which they 'will not find in any other Perſon, except the 'Duke of *Marlborough*: The Duke of *Hanover*, 'if he ſhould accept of the Command, could not 'be upon a Foot to agree with Prince *Eugene*: 'Thus we are going abſolutely to ſee *a new Face 'of Affairs*: Your Highneſs will pleaſe to give 'me your Commands, in what Manner you think 'it proper for me to ſpeak to the King upon this 'Affair, and what are your Thoughts of the 'Duke of *Hanover*'s Perſon.

'THE Duke of *Berwick*, who was inform'd 'a good while ago, that *this Change would be*

'*made*

'*made*, writ to Monſieur *de Torcy*, to beg him 'to repreſent to the King, that *this* would be 'the *right Time* to attempt a Deſcent, not in '*Scotland* but in *England*, and that he would 'be glad to put himſelf at the Head of Twenty 'Thouſand Men, to carry the King of *England* 'thither with certain Succeſs. This Sir, is all 'that I can have the Honour to acquaint your 'Highneſs with by this Poſt. I earneſtly wiſh 'that theſe *great Changes* may bring us to thoſe 'great Ends we hope from them, and that God 'will ſo favour the juſt Cauſe of your Highneſs, 'that you may ſoon ſee the Pride of your Ene-'mies brought down. I believe the Court of '*Vienna* will find themſelves extreamly per-'plex'd by this Scituation of Affairs in *England*. '*Behold a great many Meaſures broke*; &c.

INDEED all things put on a new Face; the *French* at *Gertruydenberg* talk'd of Peace *with great indifferency*, and in all future Conferences ſtrangely alter'd their Stile; and at the ſame time the *Jacobites* every where began to Triumph, as if their Golden Age was juſt at hand. In the *Netherlands* a *Silver Medal* was diſpers'd by the *Chevalier de St. George*'s Order, having his (the Pretender's) Head on the Right Side, and over it this Inſcription, *Cujus eſt? i. e.* whoſe Image is this? On the reverſe was repreſented *Great Britain* and *Ireland* with this Motto, *Reddite* (*i. e.*) Render to *Cæſar* the things that are his; which many hope will be done, if *Cæſar* attempts to Land in *Britain* any more, tho' he ſlip'd his Neck out of the Halter the laſt Time: At Home the Party was Inſolent to a ſtrange Degree, Witneſs the following Paper, which it ſeems, they had the Impudence to diſperſe.

Vivat
JACOBUS TERTIUS,
PRINCEPS NOSTER
Legitimus.

M——G——D——H

Which Capitals were thought to contain a ſhort Collect very much us'd at that time, and by that Party, *viz. May God D——n Han——*

2. *ANOTHER Step* was the avowing and countenancing *Principles*, and ſpreading them thro' the Kingdom, *wholly inconſiſtent with the preſent Settlement*, expoſing the Glorious Revolution in 88, that ſaved the Nation, as Criminal and Odious: How bare-fac'd was *Sacheverell* on this Head, and yet not only Careſs'd by the Party, but prefer'd by the Government after he and his Doctrine had been cenſur'd by the higheſt Judicature in the Nation: The Pulpits began to ring with Doctrines of Abſolute Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive-Obedience, and the Divine Hereditary Right of Kings: Addreſſes were encourag'd from every part of the Kingdom, aſſerting and maintaining the *Sole Hereditary Right*: Multitudes both from *Scotland* and *England* were preſented, which ran in this Strain, and met with a favourable Reception. One Champion for the Cauſe, Dr. *Bedford*, publiſh'd a Book in Folio, in Defence of Hereditary Right; and tho' upon Complaint this Preſumption was publickly cenſur'd, the Doctor came off upon eaſy Terms. About the ſame time, and upon the like Encouragement, the Dutcheſs of *Gordon* preſented the Faculty of Advocates in *Edinburgh* with a Medal, the ſame I mention'd before, having the Pretender's Head on one ſide, and the Inſcription

The Revolution run down, and Hereditary Right cry'd up.

Cujus

Cujus eſt ? And on the reverſe the Iſles of *Britain* and *Ireland*, with this Motto *Reddite*, meaning, render them to him (the Pretender) whoſe Right it is. Before the Faculty wou'd receive this Medal, they had ſome Debates about the Expediency of it; and one that was for receiving it, and returning the Dutcheſs Thanks, made the following Speech on the Occaſion.

The Pretenders Medal preſented to the Faculty of Advocates.

'*Dean of Faculty*, whatever theſe Gentlemen ſay of their Loyalty, I think they Affront the Queen whom they pretend to honour, in diſgracing her Brother, who is not only a Prince *of the Blood but the firſt thereof*; and if Blood can give any Right, he's our *undoubted* Soveraign: I think too, they call Her Majeſty's Title in Queſtion, which is not our Buſineſs to determine: *Medals* are the Documents of Hiſtory, to which all our Hiſtorians refer; and therefore, tho' I ſhould give *King* William's *Stamp with the Devil at his Right Ear*, I ſee not how it could be refus'd, ſince an hundred Years hence it would prove ſuch a Coin had been in *England*: But, *Dean of Faculty*, what needs further Speeches? None oppoſe the receiving the Medal, and returning Thanks to her Grace, but a few *pitiful ſcoundrel Vermin*, and Muſhrooms not worth our Notice. Let us therefore proceed to name ſome of our Number, to return our hearty Thanks to the Dutcheſs of *Gordon*.'

WHEREUPON the *Dean of the Faculty* put it to the Vote, and 'twas carried by a Majority of 63 againſt 12, that Thanks ſhould be return'd to her Grace; and three Days after Mr. *Dundaſs* (the Author of the Speech above recited)

waits on the Dutcheſs, and makes her the following Compliment.

Madam,

'WE are deputed by the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, in their Name and for our ſelves, to return our moſt hearty Thanks to your Grace for all your Favours; and particularly for the Honour you did us, in preſenting us with a Medal *of our Soveraign Lord the King*. We ſhall always be proud of any Occaſion of teſtifying our Loyalty to *his Majeſty*, and the Reſpect and Honour we have for your Grace.' And after a ſhort Anſwer of her Grace, this worthy Advocate replies,

Madam,

'I Hope and am Confident, ſo do my Conſtituents, that your Grace ſhall have very ſoon an Opportunity to Compliment the Faculty with a Second Medal, *Struck upon the Reſtoration of the King and Royal Family*, and the finiſhing Rebellion, Uſurping Tyranny and Whiggery.'

IT was obſerv'd, that this *Medal* was neither of Value (being worth but about half a Crown), nor ſcarce, the ſame having been ſpread in the *Netherlands* ſome time before; ſo that the Deſign muſt be to Arraign the *Hanover Succeſſion*, ſtrike at the Foundation of it; and by ſo publick an Act give ſome Reputation to the *Jacobite Cauſe*, and accordingly the Party here in *England* boaſted of it, *As what was done in the Face of the World, by the Oracles of the* Scotch *Nation, Men learned in the Law*: 'Tis true the Faculty publickly denied the Fact charg'd upon them, but ſays my Author, the Fact was as related, and

was

was in private juſtify'd by ſome of the Members that had been moſt active in it; and as there was little done by the Government againſt theſe Offenders, ſo it was affirm'd by Sir *David Dalrimple*'s Friends, that he had Secret Inſtructions from *ſome Body*, not to ſtir in Proſecuting the *Medaliſts*.

3. BESIDES theſe ruder Attacks of more private Men, which yet receiv'd too much Countenance from Authority: There was a *manifeſt Coolneſs*, ſhown by ſome in the higheſt Poſts towards the Houſe of *Hannover*, in which the Hopes of all true Proteſtants and *Britons*, under God, centred; with how much Neglect, to ſay no worſe, were the Envoys of that Illuſtrious Family treated, *the Barons Bothmar and Scutz*? The former was inſulted and forbid the Court upon preſenting his Maſters moſt excellent and ſeaſonable Memorial; as was the latter when he had demanded a Summons for the Duke of *Cambridge*. In the mean time there appear'd a wonderful Tenderneſs towards the *Pretender*. Thus when the Peace was Negotiating, and Mr. *Hambden* mov'd, that the ſeveral Powers in Alliance with her Majeſty, ſhould upon a general Peace, *be made Guarantees for the Succeſſion*; this Motion was oppos'd with an uncommon Zeal by the Miniſtry, and by their Intereſt rejected in the *Houſe of Commons*, and highly reſented by the Queen, as if it carried an Inſinuation, that the Succeſſion was not *ſafe enough* already; and when another Occaſion the Lord *Wharton* mov'd that her Majeſty ſhould be Addreſs'd, that a Reward might be offer'd to any Perſon that ſhould *Apprehend the Pretender dead or alive*; this was cried out of as *Unchriſtian*, and tho' the Clauſe was not wholy rejected, it receiv'd ſuch a Turn, as left it very Ambiguous; inſtead of

Coolneſs in the Government towards the Houſe of *Hanover*.

dead

dead or alive, it was chang'd into, *bring him to Juſtice in Caſe he ſhould Land.*

NAY the very Stile is alter'd with reſpect to the Pretender: The Queen in her Speech to the Parliament, *June* 6, 1712. call'd him, *The Perſon who has pretended to diſturb the Succeſſion in the Houſe of Hanover*; and when the Lord *Wharton* mov'd that the Queen ſhould be Addreſs'd to uſe her moſt preſſing Inſtances with the Duke of *Lorrain*, *&c.* not to receive the Pretender, nor ſuffer him to continue in any of their Dominions: The Queen anſwer'd, I will repeat my Inſtances to have *that Perſon* remov'd according to your deſire; but notwithſtanding this, *that Perſon* was ſafe enough. Nor can we imagine but the Duke of *Lorrain* underſtood perfectly well the meaning of ſuch Inſtances, how often ſoever repeated; or he would not have dar'd not only ſtill to Harbour the *Outlaw*, but recommend him to the Nation as a Perſon of the moſt finiſhed Character and greateſt Merit, in a Letter *to the Queen her ſelf*: And who can reflect upon the Meaſure the Lord *Townſend* met with for the Barrier Treaty, *and engaing the* Dutch *to be Guarantees for the Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and not diſcern the Intereſt of *Hanover* was not then very much at Heart, unleſs in the new Senſe of the Word.

The fatal Peace.

BUT the grand Contrivance of all was, *the putting a Stop to the Conqueſt and Triumph of Her Majeſty's Arms*; which was done firſt by a Suſpenſion of Arms, and afterwards by a Peace: I don't ſay *what a Peace*; nor ſhall I take upon me to give its proper Epithets, and determine *how Safe, how Advantageous and Glorious it was*, I leave it to the Senſe and Feeling of the Nation to judge of that: However as it was a Chief Stroke in the Plot, and the wideſt Step the Party took towards the

the Ruin of their Country; a few Reflections upon it are due to my preſent Subject, and will be excus'd.

AND I ſhall begin with obſerving this Affair was tranſacted *Clandeſtinely*: The firſt Alarm the Nation receiv'd of the Intreague, was by Mr. *Prior*'s Journey into *France*, about the latter end of *June*, 1711. no Notice was taken of his Abſence, nor Enquiry made after him; but upon his Return in the beginning of *Auguſt*, landing in a ſmall Veſſel near *Deal*, he was ſeiz'd by the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers, and to prevent being diſcover'd aſſum'd another Name; but one of the Officers knowing him, Expoſtulated with him about denying his true Name; adding, that in diſcharge of their Truſt, they muſt keep him in Cuſtody till they had receiv'd further Inſtructions from the Secretaries: Upon which Mr. *Prior* produc'd a Paſs in due Form; but the Officers inſiſted, that not having at firſt declar'd the Name mention'd in the Paſs, they were not oblig'd to ſhow any Regard unto it; and ſo Mr. *Prior* was ſtopp'd, till he was releas'd from above.

THIS made no ſmall Noiſe both in Town and Country, and was particularly taken Notice of by Count *Gallas*, the Emperors Miniſter, who enquir'd fully into the Matter, and finding the Fact was according to common Fame, complained of it; but was anſwer'd by the *Prime Miniſter*, that he had no Reaſon to be alarm'd, *for the Queen would never make a Peace derogatory to any Engagements ſhe had with her Allies*, and yet even now the Peace was Negotiating, and ſoon after in effect concluded, without their Knowledge and Participation. The Secret Committe, tells us, 'That it was determin'd by the *Engliſh* Miniſtry to carry on a *Separate Negotiation* with *France*, p. 11. 12mo.

'*France*, excluſive of all the Allies; and in their 'private Propoſitions an expreſs Article is in-'ſerted, *That the Secret ſhould be inviolably kept 'till allowed to be divulged by the Conſent of both Parties*: When Mr. *Prior* return'd from *France*, 'he was attended, ſays the Committee by Mon-'ſieur *Meſnager*, a Miniſter of *France*, veſted 'with full Powers in due Form, and Dated '*Auguſt* 3, 1711. to Treat, Negotiate, Conclude 'and Sign with ſuch Miniſters as ſhould be Au-'thoriz'd for the Purpoſe.

The Committee adds, 'That, Monſieur *Meſ-'nager*, upon his Arrival here, frequently con-'fer'd with the Queen's Miniſters, as appears by 'many Inſtances; but the Subject Matter of 'theſe Conferences, the Time, Place, and parti-'cular Perſons with whom he Treated; or by 'what Authority, they find no Account of, till 'the 20th of *September*, 1711. when by a Let-'ter of Mr Secretary *St. John*, then at *London*, 'to the Queen at *Windſor*, it appears that the '*Lord Treaſurer*, the *Lord Chamberlain*, *Lord 'Dartmouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, met Monſieur '*Meſnager* that Evening, *September* 20, at Mr. '*Prior*'s Houſe; which Meeting, as Mr. *St. John* 'ſays, was by Order of the Lords of the Com-'mittee of Council, but ſeems unknown to the 'Queen, till the Secretary acquainted her with 'it by this Letter. At this Meeting Monſieur '*Meſnager* deliver'd to the *Britiſh* Miniſters, the 'Anſwer ſign'd by the King of *France* to the 'Demands laſt ſent over from *England*; which 'Demands and Anſwers were made *the ſecret Pre-'liminary* Articles betwixt *Great Britain* and '*France*; and were ſign'd as ſuch *September* 27, '1711. by Monſieur *Meſnager* on the Part of '*France*; and the acceptation of them by the 'Lord

'Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John*, on the Part 'of *Great Britain*.' The Committee farther takes 'Notice, 'That *St. John* repreſented to the 'Queen, as the unanimous Opinion of her Ser- 'vants, that a Warrant ſhould paſs the Great 'Seal to Empower the Earl of *Oxford*, *&c.* to 'Treat with Monſieur *Meſnager*; accordingly a 'Warrant was drawn up, but never had the 'Great Seal to it; and 'tis obſervable that it 'was dated the 17th of *September*, tho' not pre- 'pared nor thought of till the 20th; which An- 'tedating, ſays the Committee, ſeems deſign'd 'to juſtify the Miniſtry in Conferring with 'the Queen's Enemies, previous to the Warrant, 'which never paſſing into a Legal Authority; 'theſe Secret Negotiations were begun and car- 'ried on from the 11th of *April*, to the 25th of '*September* 1711. without any Powers or written 'Authority from the Queen; and after all, tho' 'it was repreſented to the Queen, that full Pow- 'ers were neceſſary to Authorize them to Treat, 'yet theſe Powers were laid aſide, and the Ac- 'ceptation of the Preliminaries ſign'd by the 'Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John*, by Virtue 'of a Warrant directed to them two only, ſign'd 'by the Queen *at Top and Bottom*; and *Counter- 'ſign'd by no Body*. So that thoſe Miniſters ſeem'd 'Conſcious to themſelves what was doing; who 'ſo readily Confer'd with the Miniſters of '*France*, till this *Separate Negotiation* was 'brought to Maturity, but avoided to become 'Parties when the Treaty was to be Sign'd and 'Executed.

'TIS granted when the general Preliminaries were agreed to here in *England*, they were tranſmitted to *Holland*, as the Foundation of a Peace; but then its to be conſider'd; there were

ſign'd

ſign'd at the ſame Time *ſpecial Preliminaries* between *Great Britain* and *France*, in which it was a fundamental Condition, *That they ſhould be conceal'd with the utmoſt Secrecy*; and tho' a ſham Treaty was carried on at *Utrecht* upon the foot of the *general Preliminaries*, yet all was govern'd according to the *Secret Articles*, and even during the Negociations at the general Congreſs, every thing was tranſacted by our Managers at home. 'The 'Allies, ſays the Committee, giving in their 'Specifick Demands, was not to be avoided; 'but the *French* were to gain as much Time as 'poſſibly they could by unneceſſary Delays, 'and at laſt inſiſt upon ſuch a Method of an'ſwering theſe Demands, as they knew the Al'lies could not comply with. *In the mean time, 'the Negotiations were carrying on directly between* England *and* France, *or rather all the Conditions 'dictated and preſcrib'd by* France, *whilſt the Allies 'were amus'd with a Diſpute about the Method of 'Anſwering.* All the Particulars that concern'd 'even the Intereſt of the Allies were tranſacted 'between the Miniſters of *England* and *France*, *un'der the higheſt Obligations of Secrecy*: The *Dutch* 'are preſs'd to come into the Queen's Meaſures, 'without knowing what the Queen's Meaſures 'were, *&c.*' So that the Peace, notwithſtanding the Formality of a Treaty, was in a great meaſure made by a few Miniſters of *England* and *France*; and how honourable this was, may be judg'd by any one that will read the 8th Article of the Grand Alliance, in which it was agreed, '*Quod neutri partium fas ſit Bello ſemel ſuſcepto, de pace cum Hoſte tractare, niſi conjunctim, & communicatis Conciliis cum altera parte*, &c. 'That none of the 'Parties, after a War is begun, ſhall treat with 'the Enemy about Peace, but in Conjunction,

'and

and by the mutual Consent of all the Allies.

'TIS not my Province, as I said, to Characterize the Peace, I'm afraid the Ruin of *Britain* and the Liberties of *Europe* would have proclaim'd it to the World in too sensible a manner, had not Providence interpos'd: But every Body may observe, that as the manner of treating, so the Terms of it were directly against the Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance; which, after the Clause mention'd before, contains, 'That none 'of the Parties should make Peace till they had 'obtain'd a convenient Satisfaction for the Em'peror, and a Security for the Dominions and 'Trade of the *English* and *Dutch*, and procured, 'that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain should ne'ver be* united under the same Prince; and that 'the *French* never be Masters of the *Indies*, sub'ject to *Spain*, or be permitted to trade in that 'Country *directly or indirectly*; nor before they 'have obtain'd for the *English* and *Dutch* those 'Rights, Privileges and Franchises for their 'Trade in *Spain* and the Mediterranean, which 'were enjoy'd by *Charles* II. by virtue of Trea'ties, Custom, or any other Title whatsoever.

NOW this, as it was a solemn Stipulation, the Necessity of it was own'd in many Speeches from the Throne, and Addresses from both Houses of Parliament, and yet all overlook'd by our Peace-makers.

BUT to let these Things pass, methinks it looks suspicious enough, and may somewhat help those to form a Judgment of this Peace, who can't otherwise do it, that whilst the truest Friends of the Nation remonstrated against it, it was applauded by our avow'd Enemies. The Secret Committee takes Notice, 'That in the very In-

'fancy

'fancy of the Negociation, the Trade of the 'World, and the entire *Spaniſh* Monarchy, 'which had coſt ſo many Millions, and the Ef-'fuſion of ſo much Blood, without being once 'inſiſted upon, were given up by the *Eng-'liſh* Miniſtry to the Houſe of *Bourbon*.' And when it came to be debated in Parliament, ſeveral had the Courage to ſhew its Deformity, which they did with ſuch Reaſon and Argument, that nothing but Numbers could anſwer; repreſenting, that by this Treaty, the *Emperor*, the *Dutch* and *Hanoverians* were betray'd; the brave *Barcelonians* were to be ſacrific'd; the Intereſt of the *French* Proteſtants given up; the Trade to Foreign Parts ſunk and loſt; and 'tis ſaid when it was voted *to be glorious, ſafe and advantageous* to the Nation, ſome of theſe zealous Patriots wept: He was one of the greateſt Men in *Britain*, and indeed in *Europe*, and the moſt competent Judge of this Affair, that declared in the Houſe of Lords, 'That the Mea-'ſures enter'd into, and purſued in *England* 'during this Treaty, were contrary to Her Ma-'jeſty's Engagements with her Allies; did ſully 'the Triumphs and Glories of her Reign, and 'would render the *Engliſh* Name odious to all 'other Nations.' The memorable Speech of Mr. *Corver*, a Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam*, may not be impertinent here. Upon the News of the Duke of *Ormond*'s Declaration about a Ceſſation of Arms, this Gentleman (now eighty four Years of Age) in an Aſſembly held for Conſultation, warmly preſs'd them to continue the War, repreſenting, that without that, their Commonwealth was like to be entirely ruin'd. He added, 'He was an old Man, upwards of Fourſcore, 'and had ſeen far more difficult Times; nay, 'he had ſeen the *French* at their very Gates,

Burgomaſter *Corver*'s Speech about continuing the War.

'but

'but by the Bleſſing of God on their Firmneſs 'and Reſolution, they had hitherto preſerv'd 'their Liberties; that he had no private Inte-'reſt in Trade, and had no other Concern, but 'for the Good of his Country, and the Com-'mon Cauſe; yet he would give half what he 'had in the World, nay all, rather than ſuffer 'the Loſs of their Liberties: But if at laſt, 'ſays he, we are overpower'd, then let us lay 'our Cities under Water, betake our ſelves to 'our Ships, and ſail to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and let 'thoſe that ſee our Country laid waſte, ſay, '*There liv'd a People who choſe to loſe their Coun-'try rather than their Liberties.*' This wiſe and great Man thought that all lay at Stake, and was going to be ſacrific'd by ſuch a Peace as was impos'd upon them; and the ſame Apprehenſions were common among thoſe that had any true Underſtanding of the Intereſt of *Europe*, and Concern for its Liberties, and are ſo well expreſs'd in a Letter to the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, dated *July* 20. 1712. ſaid to be written by a Proteſtant Refugee, that I ſhall tranſcribe a few Paſſages out of it.

My Lord,

'ALL good Proteſtants in *Europe* are under 'inexpreſſible Aſtoniſhment, too ſee a *famous Biſhop* of their Communion employ'd in 'negociating a Peace, on a Foot which the de-'clar'd Enemy of Religion and Liberty has 'himſelf dictated; to behold, that ſo much Chri-'ſtian Blood was ſpilt; that ſuch vaſt Trea-'ſures were ſpent, and ſo many Victories gain'd 'to no other purpoſe *than to encreaſe the exor-'bitant Power of that dreadful Enemy.*' And indeed, no impartial Men can think any other, but that this Peace was contriv'd on purpoſe

to retrieve the Affairs of France, that the Authors of it might have Assistance from thence to accomplish the Work they had to do: It was a close Argument of a great Man, when the Question, Whether the Nation was in Danger, was debated in the House of Commons, which he brought for the Affirmative, *viz.* That, as it was universally acknowledg'd, that it had been the *French* King's Intention, so it was *still* his Interest, and he has it *now more than ever* in his Power to restore the Pretender. Such were the Sentiments of our Friends concerning the Peace.

AND it seems in this we have the Concurrence of Enemies; indeed our Enemies at home extoll'd it, and us'd all manner of little Arts to make it pass, and it must be own'd, it succeeded to their Desire with a Party that they had prepar'd to receive any thing, and to say after them without making Stops: But in the mean time, our Enemies abroad triumphed in our Folly, and even insulted us in their Flatteries; in *France* they could not suppress the Resentments of the Favours we had done them, and what Thoughts *Philip*, the King of *Spain*, had thereof, may be learnt from his Declaration to his Council. 'Though, says he, I have communica-
'ted to you on other Occasions divers Things
'relating to the Peace, yet I have always endea-
'vour'd to keep some Passages secret, till the Peace
'should be brought to a Certainty. At present,
'when by the Divine Assistance, it is entirely
'settled with *England*, I think fit to communi-
'cate to you the principal Articles of which it
'consists, because the Advantages that result
'from it, *are altogether favourable to me*; for
'not one Foot of Ground in the *Indies* is to be
'dismember'd from the *Spanish* Monarchy, and
'I hope to possess those Countries entire, in the
same

King *Philip* exceedingly pleased with the Peace.

'same manner they were possess'd by my late 'Uncle of Glorious Memory, &c.' And some time after, we find him paying his Compliment by the Marquis de *Monteleone* to the Queen of *Great Britain*, in the following Terms.

Madam,

'THE Catholick King my Master has sent 'me to give you a *Thousand Thanks* for 'the great Pains you have been pleas'd to take, 'in procuring Peace to *Europe*. The whole *Spa-* 'nish Nation in particular owe their Lives to 'your Majesty, for had the War continu'd, 'there's not one faithful *Spaniard* who would 'not have spent the last Drop of his Blood in 'my Master's Quarrel.' To which the Queen was pleas'd to answer,

Sir,

'I Thank my Brother, the King of *Spain*, 'for the Compliment he makes me by you. 'I think my self very happy in being able to 'contribute to the Safety of so brave a Nation, 'and so loyal a People.

Now should a Man be never so meanly quali-fy'd to judge of the Peace; had he never read or heard of the Conditions of it; should he be wholly ignorant how much † worse 'tis than

† It will scarce be solv'd by the ablest Critick, without taking in the *Grand Arcanum* of the late Managers, (*viz.* That it was not so much the Interest of *Britain*, as the restoring and obliging the *French* for future Service that was to be regarded in the Peace) how it came to pass, that notwithstanding the further Advantages the Allies had obtain'd over the Enemy since the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg*, by the taking the strong Towns of *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Douay*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, St. *Venant* and *Bouchain*, yet the Terms accepted at the *Utrecht* Treaty, were far worse than those offer'd at *Gertruydenberg*. In the former Treaty, *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to be given to the *Emperor*, by this they are entirely given up to the House of

what was once offer'd, how much *Britain* ſuffer'd in its Trade, and what a mighty Acceſſion of Power is made to the moſt inveterate Enemies of the Nation hereby, he could not forbear entertaining but indifferent Thoughts of a Peace, *that our Friends contemplate with ſo much Indignation, and our Enemies with Triumph.*

LET me add, it was made *in the midſt of Victory and Succeſs*, when the Enemy was prepar'd to ſend us a Blank, and ſubmit to any Terms we ſhould preſcribe. The Name of *Marlborough* was ſo terrible to a *French* Man, that 'tis probable, had the former Miniſtry been continued, and the former Meaſures been purſu'd, they durſt never have look'd him in the Face more;

Bourbon; by the former Treaty *Strasburgh* was to be deliver'd up to the Emperor; by the latter, it remains in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, and thereby a Door open'd to them at any time into the Heart of the Empire; by the former Treaty, the Towns of *Liſle*, *Conde* and *Maubeuge* were to be given the *Dutch*, as part of their Barrier, which by this Treaty the *French* keep in their own Hands; by the former Treaty, *Newfoundland* was wholly given up to the *Engliſh*, by this the *French* reſerve a Liberty of Catching and Drying Fiſh, and to erect Stages and Huts for that Purpoſe; by the former (the *Gertruydenberg* Treaty) *Dunkirk* was not only to be raz'd, and the Harbour fill'd up, but it was agreed that the Fortifications ſhould never be rebuilt, or the Harbour again made Navigable *directly or indirectly*, which laſt Clauſe by the *Utrecht-Treaty* is left out: So that now there's room left for another Harbour as Commodious as the former, a new Canal, Moles and Sluices, as advantageous to them; and as prejudicial to us, as the old; and all this conſiſtent with their Stipulations, juſt as if one ſhould covenant with a Neighbour to ſtop up a Window which overlooks his Garden, and at the ſame time break a Hole thro' the Wall, and ſet up a new Window. Add to this, that beſides the Ceſſation of the entire *Spaniſh* Monarchy, the Victorious Allies were oblig'd by this Treaty, to give three times as much as they receiv'd, as the Principality of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, *Cologne*, *Liege*, *Liſle*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, &c.

Vid. *Withers. Whigs* vindicated.

So that our Managers exchang'd whole Provinces for Towns, and in Value three for one. I might add, the moſt important Branch of our Trade, that with *Spain* was ſo far ruin'd, that, as the Merchants repreſented to the Houſe of Lords, we can't Trade thither without twenty five *per Cent.* Loſs.

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nor have had any further Correſpondence with him, unleſs the Trumpeters deſiring Capitulations; and yet at this Juncture we encourage a Treaty, leave *France* to dictate the Terms, and comply with ſuch as infer the Loſs of all we had gain'd. I can't expreſs this in better Words, nor with ſo good Authority as by a few Paſſages in his Majeſty's firſt Speech to his Parliament.

'It were to be wiſh'd, ſays he, that *the unparalelled Succeſſes* of a War ſo wiſely and 'chearfully ſupported by this Nation, in order 'to procure a good Peace, had been attended 'with *a ſuitable Concluſion*; but 'tis with Concern I muſt tell you, that ſome Conditions *even 'of this Peace*, eſſential to the Security and 'Trade of *Great Britain*, are not yet duly executed; and the Performance of the whole may 'be look'd upon as precarious, until we ſhall 'have form'd Defenſive Alliances to Guaranty 'the preſent Treaties; a great Part of our Trade 'is rendred impracticable: This, if not retriev'd, 'muſt deſtroy our Manufactures, and ruine our 'Navigation: The publick Debts are very 'great, and *ſurpriſingly encreas'd* ever ſince the '*fatal Ceſſation of Arms*.

IT was after *unparalell'd Succeſſes* that *this Peace* was obtain'd, as the Crown of all our Victories for Eight Glorious Campaigns: Nay in *the very midſt* of Victory and Triumph, as was ſaid, we have ſought Peace, ſtop'd the Conquering Hand, and yielded to a conquer'd Enemy. 'Tis remarkable that at the very time of the Ceſſation, Prince *Eugene* thought himſelf in a Condition to Inſult the Enemy in his own Country, which he did by Major General *Groveſtein*, Governor of *Bouchain*; who being ſent with a

Detachment of about fifteen hundred Horſe, Dragoons and *Huſſars*, invaded *France*, and plunder'd and burnt ſeveral open Towns and Villages of *Campagne*, and the County of *Metz*; Struck Terror and Conſternation as far as *Paris*, and brought away a great Number of Hoſtages for Contribution; the Siege of *Queſnoy* being at the ſame time carried on with extraordinary Vigor and Succeſs. And whilſt things were in this State, the *Britiſh General*, who knew he had other work to do than to fight the *French* and ſpoil their new Friends, effectually diſconcerts all Meaſures, and breaks off from the Allies. 'The Duke of *Ormond*, ſays an Hiſtorian, fore-'ſeeing that the Reduction of *Queſnoy* might 'ſwell the Hopes of *the Allies*, and obſtruct the 'Peace, ſent to acquaint Prince *Eugene*, that 'his Troops ſhould continue in the Army, *pro-'vided he would give over the Siege of Queſnoy*; 'which tho' his Highneſs refus'd, (anſwering 'that inſtead of putting a ſtop to the Siege, he 'would cauſe it to be proſecuted with all ima-'ginable Vigor, and that he would let his Grace 'be Eye-Witneſs of another Expedition, imme-'diately after the taking of that Town) yet 'nothing of Moment could be done by him, be-'ing thus deſerted and betray'd to the Enemy.' And from henceforth all Correſpondence ceas'd between the two Generals: And ſoon after *July* 16, the Confederate Army * ſeparated; Prince

* The States had Intimation of this before hand. In their Letter to the Queen, Dated *June* 5, 1712. they take notice how much they were Surpriz'd with two Declarations, one after another; the firſt by the Duke of *Ormond*, that he could undertake nothing without new Orders from Her Majeſty; the other by the Biſhop of *Briſtol* at *Utrecht*, that perceiving the States would not Act in Concert with the Miniſters of *Britain* on the Subject of Peace, the Queen would take her Meaſures *apart, and that ſhe look't upon her ſelf to be under no Obligations with Reſpect to the States*;

Eugene,

Eugene, and ſuch of the Auxillaries as would continue with him, marching towards *Landrecy*, which Place he Inveſted, whilſt the Duke of *Ormond* march'd with the *Britiſh Troops* towards *Ghent*, according to an Agreement, as was reported, between the Earl of *Strafford* and *Villars*, (the Earl having been Incognito in the *French* Camp before the Ceſſation of Arms) that the *Britiſh* Troops ſhould make themſelves Maſters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, whereby they ſhou'd Command the Navigation of the *Lys* and the *Scheld*, and be able to put an effectual ſtop to any *further* Progreſs of the Confederate Army under the Prince of *Savoy*; in Caſe the *French* General found it impracticable to relieve *Landrecy*.

SO that the great Care and Concern of our Managers, was that the Allies ſhould make *no further Progreſs* againſt the Enemy; ſhould gain *no further Advantages*; but that being *perfidiouſly*

and ſpeaking of the Conduct of her General, they Expoſtulate with Her Majeſty in the following Terms: 'We pray your Majeſty, ſay they, to 'conſider whether we have not juſt Ground to be ſurpriz'd, when we ſee 'a ſtop put, by an Order in your Majeſty's Name, *without our Knowledge*, 'to the Operations of the Confederate Army; the fineſt and ſtrongeſt 'which perhaps has been in the Field during the whole Courſe of the 'War, and provided with all Neceſſaries to Act with Vigor; and this 'after they had march'd, according to the Reſolution taken *in Concert* with 'your Majeſty's General, *almoſt up to the Enemy* with a great Superiority, 'both as to the Number and Goodneſs of Troops, and animated with a 'Noble Courage and Zeal, to acquit themſelves bravely: They add, We 'flatter our ſelves with the Hopes the Duke of *Ormond* has given 'us, that in a few Days he expects other Orders: But in the mean time 'we are ſorry to ſee one of *the fineſt Opportunities loſt*.' They juſtly complain that this was after many Aſſurances, and theſe lately repeated, *That Her Majeſty's Troops ſhould Act againſt the Common Enemy till the War was concluded by a General Peace*, and that they ſhould Act with their uſual Vigor, as was promiſed them in the Queen's Name by the Duke of *Ormond* himſelf. But there had been Secret Engagements of a different Nature, entred into with other Folks, which were to over-rule theſe Forms of ſpeaking.

abandon'd by us, and thereby brought into Straits; they ſhould be forc'd into the Meaſures of *France* for a general Peace; And tho' ſome of the brave Allies were rather for venturing all their Treaſure and Blood, than ſubmit to Terms ſo diſhonourable as were impos'd upon them; yet after the fatal Battel of *Denain*, the Loſs of *Marchiennes*, *Douay*, *Queſnoy*, and *Bouchain*; all which fell into the Enemies hands, they thought it adviſable to ſtand out no longer, but make as good Terms for themſelves as they could; and ſo a Peace is formally concluded at *Utrecht* (the Conditions of which had been concerted long before, between the *Engliſh* Miniſtry and that of *France*) in which *France* was more than reſtor'd to its former Strength and Glory; in which *France* and *Spain* were to have all, and the Allies loſe all they had been fighting for; only *England* in Conſideration of her betraying her Allies, and Sacrificing her Honour and Intereſt to *France*, ſhould have powerful Succours from thence to defend the Peace-makers, and aſſiſt them in accompliſhing their *grand Deſign*, *viz.* the deſtroying the Succeſſion in *the Houſe of Hanover*, and ſetting the Pretender upon the Throne.

The Allies and the late Miniſtry loaded with Reproach.

5. THE better to blind the Eyes of the Nation, and make all theſe ſtrange things paſs current, a *Cry is rais'd* and induſtriouſly ſpread *againſt our Allies* (eſpecially the *Dutch*) and *the late Miniſtry*, both which are loaded with Reproach, and made odious among unthinking People. The *Dutch* are ſolemnly arraign'd by the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, *February* 5, 1712. as *being deficient* in their *Quota* in carrying on the War; and tho' in the Judgment of all Impartial Perſons, the Aſperſion was effectually wip'd of *in a Me-*

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morial from the States to the Queen on that Head; however the Accuſation anſwer'd its End with thoſe it was deſign'd to Influence, gave them a handle to defame the *Dutch*, ſerv'd for a Bone of Contention between us and them: The *Memorial* is too large to have a place here; a Paragraph or two however I ſhall Inſert, which will ſhow ſomething of the Nature and Tendency of the Charge brought againſt them. They alledge, 'That theſe Reſolutions of the Houſe of Com-'monsare drawn up in Form of Deciſions, at a 'time when a Union and Harmony between 'Great Britain and the States is more neceſſary 'than ever——And tho' it be impoſſible that 'the ſaid Reſolutions ſhould fail of making a 'Diſadvantageous Impreſſion of the States, upon 'thoſe who have not an exact Knowledge of Af-'fairs; yet they muſt loſe very much of their 'Force, when 'tis conſider'd that the Reſoluti-'ons were form'd, and that the States General 'ſo poſitively condemn'd by them, without 'having any Opportunity to make known what 'they had to ſay on the Subject, and to remove 'the Prejudices of the Houſe by neceſſary Infor-'mations and Explications.'

THE Miniſtry is ſeverely laſh'd, as purſuing Meaſures deſtructive to their Country. The War it ſelf is repreſented not only as unneceſſary but intolerable; the chief Burden being thrown on us, whilſt others went away with the Gain: Hence it was call'd a *Conſuming Land War*, and thoſe that were for carrying it on were ſtigmatiz'd as *a People that delight in War*, which were Phraſes made mighty ſignificant among the Party; the Duke of *Marlborough* is accus'd of prolonging the War for his own private Advantage; and not only ſo, but of Defrauding the Soldiers of their

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Bread, (tho' at the ſame time he was their Darling and Idol) and the Publick of vaſt Sums, and particularly *of the two and half per Cent.* And yet all this while nothing ever could be made appear againſt him, *but the Malice of his Accuſers.* The Lord *Townſend* is Voted an Enemy to his Country, *February* 14, 1711-12, on the Account of the Barrier-Treaty, which he made, ſay they, *under Colour of ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion*; an unpardonable Crime! The Earl of *Godolphin* is accus'd of † Robbing the *Exchequer* of no leſs than thirty five Millions Sterling, tho' thirty one Millions were preſently ſtruck off, for which Accounts was ſtated and ready to paſs; and the reſt appear'd expended for publick Ser-

† This being the Common Topick of Slander, made uſe of to Slur the *Whig-Miniſtry*, viz. *That they had plunder'd the Nation*, and enrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of it; it may not be amiſs to examine it a little: The Deſign of this Pretence is eaſily ſeen thro'; the People were not only to believe that Peace was abſolutely neceſſary, the Frauds of former Managers having impoveriſh'd the Nation to that degree, that it could no longer bear the Charge of the War, but their Eyes were to be dazled whilſt the preſent Managers did all the Miſchief they falſly accuſed others of; like a notable Juggler that cries out in a Croud of Pocket-picking, on Purpoſe that in the Uproar he himſelf may pick Pockets unſuſpected. The Pretence it ſelf, that the *Whigs* cheated the Nation whilſt they were in Power, is ſo well anſwer'd by Mr. *Withers* in his little Pamphlet call'd, *The Whigs Vindicated*, that I need only deſire the Reader, that has that Piece, to read half a Score Pages, (from page 31 to 42) for his full Satisfaction in this Matter: Among other things the Author has given us the particular Sums granted by Parliament every Year, from the Year 1702 to 1714, from which Calculation 'tis evident (1.) That tho' the Whig-Miniſtry received vaſt Sums of Money, they accounted for all of it. (2.) That in the Years 1711 and 1712. ſeveral Hundred Thouſand Pounds were granted to the Tory-Miniſtry *more than the Whigs ever had* any Year when they expended moſt. (3.) The Whigs laid out their Money *in ſupporting a Glorious Succeſsful War*, and for the Honour and Intereſt of their Country; how the Tories employed theirs is now pretty well underſtood, 'tis certain it was neither in Fighting the Nations Enemies, nor paying off its Debts; our Debts being ſome Millions more when the Queen died, than they were in the Year 1710. and as his Majeſty takes notice in his Speech, *ſurpriſingly encreaſed ſince the fatal Ceſſation of Arms.*

vice;

vice; but *fortiter Calumniare & aliquid hærebit*, is a Maxim ſome had learnt; *throw a great deal of Dirt and ſome will ſtick*; The firſt Impreſſions Calumny leaves, are not eaſily worn out: And it was thought of uſe at that time to ſet ſuch Stories as theſe on Foot, and they had enow prepared to receive and ſpreadt hem.

OF the ſame Complection, and ſerving the ſame Purpoſe, was the Contrivance of *little Sham Plots*, father'd upon the Whigs: The Duke of *Marlborough* could not retire into the Country and divert himſelf with a few of his Friends, but Umbrage was taken at it, as if he was carrying on Deſigns againſt his Government; and Mercenary Pens were employ'd to Libel him, which was thought by ſome to be one main Cauſe of his leaving the Nation. When a Company of Lords and Gentlemen that honour'd the Memory of King *William*, met together to Celebrate his Birth Day, at the *Three Tuns* and *Rummer* Tavern in *Cracechurch-ſtreet*; This is preſently turn'd into a Plot, and repreſented as ſuch to the Nation in the Poſt-Boy of *November* 8, 1712. 'Tueſday 'laſt, (ſays the poor Tool, the Author), being 'King *William*'s Birth-Day, a Deſign was laid 'here to raiſe the Mob, in favour of the Factious 'and Turbulent Party, who approve themſelves 'true Sons of *Belial*, in making it their Buſineſs 'to diſturb and diſquiet the Government, which 'after all their Efforts they have found too 'firmly eſtabliſh'd for them to change. He 'adds, The following Account of the helliſh 'Deſign of the *Engliſh* Republicans, and *Scotch* 'Cameronians will appear unqueſtionably true, 'being taken upon Examination before the 'Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and other 'Her Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for this 'City.' And after a long Story, that even as

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'the Man himſelf tells it, has little in it; he concludes, 'It cannot be ſuppos'd that ſo many 'ſeeming Gentlemen and Perſons of Diſtinction 'ſhould meet in the Manner they did, and in a 'Place where they thought themſelves ſecure 'from being known, (*i. e.* in the Heart of the 'City with a Bonfire before the Door), without '*ſome very ill intention*; And as ſuch Proceed-'ings evince the Faction would ſtick at nothing 'to gain over the Mob to their ſide; ſo we Con-'gratulate our Country upon this *their reitera-'ted Diſappointment*, and hope they will always 'meet with the like Succeſs.' Nay, ſo buſie were the *Whigs* in Plotting, that they follow the Queen to *Windſor* to Aſſaſſinate her there, as was inſinuated upon occaſion of three young *German* Gentlemen walking about the Caſtle, which they went to View: It ſeems as they walk'd, they were challeng'd by a Centinel, as uſual, but not underſtanding *Engliſh*, and thinking they had come too near the Queen's Houſe, and thereby given Offence, inſtead of anſwering (to they knew not what) they betook themſelves to their Heels, and went to their Lodging; and this poor Buſineſs afforded ſome Ingenious Men ſufficient Materials for a *Whig Plot*: Another horrid Whig-Deſign againſt the Life of her Majeſty was to be executed at St, *Paul's*; to which Purpoſe the Gallery, where Her Majeſty was ſeated, was to fall, the Screws that faſten'd it being taken out.

BUT the moſt deſperate of all was the *Band-Box-Plot*, a horrid Conſpiracy againſt the Precious Life of the Lord Treaſurer, or at leaſt a Deſign to blow his Eyes out by Gun-Powder. The firſt Account of this Plot was thus, 'That a 'Band-Box was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer with 'three Piſtols Charg'd and Cock'd, whoſe Trick-

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'ers being tied to a Packthread, faſten'd to the 'Cover; the Piſtols would have gone off and 'done Execution at the opening of the Box, had 'not the ſame been *miraculouſly prevented by* Dr. '*Swift*, who being then in the Room, while his 'Lordſhip was Shaving, ſuſpected ſomething, 'and open'd the Box in ſuch a Manner, that no 'Miſchief was done.'

SOON after Care was taken to publiſh the Story in the *Poſt-Boy*, in a different Dreſs; that other Report (of which Dr. *Swift* was the Spreader) not meeting with all the Credit that was deſired; and therefore *Truſty Abel* or ſome for him gives it a new Turn to make it more plauſible. Add to this the Cry of the Churches Danger, which the meereſt Brutes in the Nation roared out in every Ale-Houſe, tho' they know nothing of any Church but what's made of Stone and Mortar, nor belong to any but the Synagogue of Satan.

AND by ſuch Arts as theſe they endeavour'd to prejudice the Mob in their Favour, (and indeed if fooliſh Credulity be the Character of a Mob, they turn'd the main Body of the Nation into one) and bring an Odium upon a Party, whom they knew were aware of their Deſigns, and reſolv'd to ſtand in their way, if they could: Hereby they inſinuated themſelves as the *only Patriots* of their Country, Zealous to reſcue it out of the Hands of thoſe that meant to deſtroy it; and by thus amuſing the Nation with Fears of imaginary Dangers, the Cry of Sham-Plots, and a Pretence of detecting the Villany of others; they gain'd an Opportunity of acting *their own*, and carrying on a *real Plot*, as has ſince appear'd to the Conviction of all, but thoſe that were

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in it; and their dull ſtupid Dependents, that have learnt to ſay as they are bid.

The trueſt Friends of *Hannover* diſgrac'd and all Places of Truſt fill'd with *Jacobites.*

6. THAT all things might be in readineſs for their Purpoſe, Care is taken to diſgrace and incapacitate the trueſt and moſt zealous Friends of the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and at the ſame time to commit all Power and Truſt to its avow'd Enemies, who are diſtinguiſh'd with ſpecial Marks of Favour throughout Her Majeſty's Dominions: *The Low Church-Men* are blaſted by impure Breath, and Branded as *Falſe Brethren*, and not thought fit to be employed in any Office, ſo much as of a Juſtice of Peace: The *Diſſenters* are mark'd for Ruine, are diſabled not only to ſerve their Country in higher Poſts, but their Neighbours, or Families *in the Quality of School-Maſters*; the former by the Bill to prevent *Hypocriſy*, the latter by the Bill *againſt Schiſm*.

IN *Scotland*, the Presbyterians are brought under new Hardſhips and Difficulties, whilſt the Epiſcopalians were Careſs'd, and as a Token of the Government's Affection, had the *Biſhops Lands* beſtow'd upon them for their Maintenance, tho' the former were known and conſider'd as the avow'd Enemies of the Pretender, the latter of the *Houſe of Hanover*; for whom they refus'd to Pray, as they generally did (if not univerſally) for the Queen. Three famous Incendiaries in the three Nations, *Sacheverell* in *England*, *Higgins* in *Ireland*, and *Greenſhields* in *Scotland*, are puniſh'd, *only with Preferments*; the Officers of the Army are cloſetted to know whether they'll ſerve Her Majeſty *without asking Queſtions*; and ſuch as had more Senſe of Honour and Conſcience, and Love to their Country, than to be made Tools of to ruin it, (and many ſuch there were) found no Favour: The Places of Truſt

Civil

Civil and Military, the Lieutenancy of Counties, and Government of Towns, were fill'd and filling with ſuch as were thought inclinable to the New Meaſures; *Chelſea College* was provided with a great Number of Invalids, ſuch as were lame only in their Morals, and would have been able to have handled their Arms had the Pretender come; for whoſe Service they were ſuppos'd to be there quarter'd: Great Numbers were liſted into the Pretender's Service, and an Army raiſing for him in *Britain* and *Ireland*; and not to trouble the Reader with any more particular Detail of ſuch Scandals; I ſhall only take Notice, that Sir *Patrick Lawleſs*, a ſort of an Envoy from the Pretender, was admitted into the Queen's Cloſet, whilſt the Miniſters of *Hanover* could ſcarce be endur'd within ſight of the Court; which was ſo ſhocking, even to the honeſter Tories that Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, when he declar'd his Opinion in the Houſe of Commons (of which he was then Speaker) *that the Nation was in Danger*, took Occaſion to mention this Particular with a juſt Cenſure.

AND this length they had brought things; thus ripe were their Preparations; ſo that nothing ſeem'd wanting but a favourable Opportunity to finiſh their Work; which whilſt they were waiting for, the Divine Providence, that had ſo often ſaved a ſinking Nation, ſteps in, and *Auguſt* 1, 1714. takes away the Unhappy Princeſs, they had ſo long and ſo groſly abus'd; and that ſo ſuddenly and with ſo much Surprize upon them, as ſtrangely perplex'd their Counſels, and threw them into the utmoſt Confuſion.

HOW the Plot was to be executed, Time may more fully diſcover; ſome talk of the Pretenders being *aſſociated* with the Queen in her Government, others of *her reſigning* to him; and

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it has been affirm'd that there was a Deſign of propoſing it to the Parliament, that they ſhould empower Her Majeſty to diſpoſe of the Crown, and Name her Succeſſor by Will: But 'tis more probable their Scheme was ſomething to this Purpoſe, 'That the Queen was to live till they 'had adjuſted Matters both at Home and Abroad, 'and got all things in readineſs, and that when 'the time ſhould come, that ſhe *muſt* die, the '*Youngſter* was to pop out from behind the Cur-'tain, and Uſurp the Throne where they were 'reſolv'd to ſupport him if they could.' 'But whether this was their Plan or not, the Deſign in General is undoubted, and the true Proteſtant and true *Briton*, will remember with Gratitude *how ſeaſonably and remarkably* it was blaſted, and that by the immediate Hand of Heaven.

The Jacobites keep up the Spirit of their Party.

THE Faction being thus balk'd, many began to think they would yield to Deſpair, and that their Cauſe and Intereſt would die away in a little time; but they ſoon made it appear that their Diſappointment did but inrage them, and therefore inſtead of quitting the Project, they purſue it with the more Zeal, or rather Madneſs, as if they had all joyn'd in the Profane *Oath of a noted Eccleſiaſtick* among them, who when their Troubles were coming upon them, *Swore by his Maker they muſt and would have the Pretender*: For a while indeed they ſuppreſs their Reſentments and conceal their Deſigns, and with an Hypocriſie, *never outdone by the vileſt on Earth*, own his preſent Maſeſty's Title, Swear to his Government, and ſolemnly Abjure the Pretender; but this was only to gain time; Miſchief was in their Heart; they were under Engagements another way, and it ſeems were willing to recommend themſelves to their new Friends

Friends and Confederates, the *Jeſuits*, by practiſing their Divinity, *take an Oath with a preſent actual Intention of breaking it* : Bluſh O ye Heavens at theſe Monſters! But Lord, Hallowed be thy Name!

THEIR Plots, I ſay, ſtill went on, and all their Engines were ſet a going to make it effectual: His Majeſty's Family and Adminiſtration are aſpers'd, *in the rudeſt manner*; a furious Mob is ſpirited up in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, who committed the utmoſt Outrages and Inſults in the Face of the Government; railing at the King and revenging themſelves on the Diſſenters, whoſe Meeting-Houſes they pull'd down to the Number of about 60: And in the mean time whilſt theſe meaner Tools of the Faction are employ'd in this lower Service; their Chiefs are aſſociating, and taking in Subſcriptions for the uſe of the Pretender; for whom they preſently take up Arms, and appear in open Rebellion. And this being their lateſt Effort (may it be the laſt!) I muſt here give ſome Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Iſſue of it, tho' very briefly, referring for the Particulars at large to ſuch Narratives as are confin'd to the Subject.

The Rebellion headed by the Earl of *Mar*.

THE Head of the *Rebellion* in *Britain* was the famous Earl of *Mar*, Secretary of State to Queen *Anne*: Upon the King's Acceſſion, he not only takes the uſual Oaths to his Majeſty, among the reſt of his good Subjects, but gives particular Aſſurances of his Loyalty under his own Hand, begging his Majeſty not to believe any Miſrepreſentations of him, which nothing but Party-Hatred, and his Zeal to the Intereſt of the Crown did occaſion; adding, 'Your Majeſty 'ſhall ever find me as *Faithful and Dutiful* a 'Subject and Servant as ever any of my Family 'have been to the Crown, or as I have been to

'late Miſtreſs the Queen.' He concludes, 'As 'your Acceſſion to the Crown has been Quiet 'and Peaceable, may your Majeſty's Reign be 'Long and Proſperous, and your People ſoon 'have the Happineſs and Satisfaction of your 'Preſence among them, which are the earneſt 'and fervent Wiſhes of him, who is with the 'humbleſt Duty and Reſpect, Sir your Maje-'ſty's *moſt Faithful, moſt Dutiful, &c.*

IN *Purſuance of theſe fine Promiſes*, and as a Proof of his ſingular Fidelity, *&c.* *his Lordſhip*, about the beginning of *Auguſt* 1715. embark'd with Major General *Hamilton*, on Board a Collier in the *Thames*, and in a few Days arriv'd at *Newcaſtle*, where he hir'd a Veſſel that ſet him and his Company on Shoar, at *Creil* in the Shire of *Fife*: Soon after his Landing, moſt of the *Scotch* Noble-men, avowedly diſaffected to the Preſent Government, reſorted to him; as the Marqueſs of *Huntley* and *Tullibardine*, the Earls of *Nithiſdale*, *Linlithgow*, *Southesk*, *Mariſhal* and *Carnwarth*, the Viſcounts of *Kilſyth*, *Kenmure*, *Kingſtone*, and *Stormount*; and the Lords *Drummond* and *Rollo*: Theſe got together all the Forces they could, and having receiv'd a Veſſel from *Havre-de Grace* laden with Arms and Ammunition, and ſoon after another with ſeveral Officers on Board, who gave them Aſſurance that the *Pretender* would ſoon be with them in Perſon: On the 6th of *September* the Earl of *Mar* ſet up the *Pretender's Standard*, and caus'd him to be Proclaim'd at *Brae Mar*.

Pretenders Standard ſet up by *Mar*.

THE Death of the *French* King, which fell out at this Juncture, a little ſtunn'd the Party, and it ſeems put them upon conſulting about quitting the Enterprize for a time, which ſome were for, and accordingly urg'd that they ſhould go Home and wait the *Pretender's* Landing; but the

the Majority depending upon a General Insurrection in *England*, were for going forward; resolving in the mean while to send Messengers *to the Pretender*, to press his coming over to them *with all speed*: Pursuant to this Resolution, the Earl of *Mar* assumes the Title of *Lieutenant General of the Pretender's Forces*, and as such, publish'd the following *Declaration*.

Mar's Declaration.

'OUr Rightful and Natural King *James* VIII. by the Grace of God, who is now coming 'to relieve us from our Oppressions, having 'been pleas'd to entrust us with the Direction of 'his Affairs, and the Command of his Forces, 'in this his Antient Kingdom of *Scotland*; and 'some of his Faithful Subjects and Servants met 'at *Aboyne*, *viz.* The Lord *Huntley*, the Lord 'Tullibardine, the Earl *Marishal*, the Earl *South-esk*, *Glingary* from the *Clans*, *Glenderule*, 'from the Earl of *Broadalbine*, and Gentlemen 'of *Argyleshire*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchter-house*, 'the Laird of *Auldbaix*, Lieutenant General 'George *Hamilton*, Major General *Gordon*, and 'my self; having taken into Consideration his 'Majesty's last and late Orders to us, find that 'as this is now the time that he order'd us to 'appear openly in Arms for him, so it seems to 'us absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Service, and the Relieving of our Native Country from all its Hardships, that his Faithful 'and Loving Subjects, and Lovers of their 'Country, should with all possible speed put 'themselves into Arms: These are therefore in 'his Majesty's Name and Authority, and by 'Virtue of the Power aforesaid, and by the 'King's Special Order to me thereunto, to require and empower you forthwith to raise your 'sensible Men, with their best Arms; and

'you are immediately to March them to 'joyn me, and ſome other of the King's Forces 'at the *Invor* of *Brae-Mar*, on Monday next 'in order to proceed in our March to attend the 'King's Standard, with his other Forces. Now 'is the time for all good Men to ſhow their Zeal 'for his Majeſty's Service, whoſe Cauſe is ſo 'deeply concern'd, and the Relief of our Na-'tive Country from Oppreſſion and a Foreign 'Yoke, too heavy for us and our Poſterity to 'bear; and to endeavour the Reſtoring not only 'our Rightful and Native King, but alſo our 'Country to its antient, free, and independant 'Conſtitution, under him whoſe Anceſtors have 'Reign'd over us for ſo many Generations. In 'ſo Honourable, Good, and Juſt a Cauſe; we 'cannot doubt of the Direction, Aſſiſtance, and 'Bleſſing of Almighty God, who has ſo often 'Reſcu'd *the Royal Family of Stuart*, and our 'Country from ſinking under Oppreſſion. Your 'punctual Obſervance of theſe Orders is expect-'ed, for doing of all which, this ſhall be to you, 'and all you employ in the Execution of them, 'a ſufficient Warrant. Given at *Brae-Mar*, *Sep-'tember* 9, 1715. *MAR.*

ON the ſame Day he writes to the *Baily* of *Kildrummy*, complaining that his Men were Re-fractory; 'Is not this the thing, ſays he, we 'are now about, which they have been wiſhing '*this twenty ſix Years*? And now when 'tis come, 'and the King and Country's Cauſe is at Stake, 'will they for ever ſit ſtill and ſee all Periſh?' And having ſent an Order for his Lordſhip of *Kil-drummy* to Riſe, *he ſwears by all that is Sacred*, if 'they come not forth, with their beſt Arms 'and Accoutrements, *he'll burn all they have.*

A

A few Days after comes out a *Manifeſto* in the Name of this worthy Earl, and his Adherents, an Abſtract of which mayn't be impertinent here. *Mar's Manifeſto.*

'His Majeſty's Right of Blood to 'the Crowns of theſe Realms, ſay they, is '*undoubted*, and has *never been diſputed or ar-* 'raign'd by the leaſt Circumſtance or Lawful 'Authority. By the Laws of God, by the 'ancient Conſtitution, and by the poſitive, un-'repeal'd Laws of the Land, we are bound to 'pay his Majeſty the Duty of loyal Subjects. 'Nothing can abſolve us from this our Duty of 'Subjection and Allegiance; our Conſtitution 'has been ſunk amidſt the the various Shocks of 'unſtable Faction, while in ſearching out new 'Expedients pretended for our Security, it has 'produc'd nothing but daily Diſappointments, 'and has brought us and our Poſterity under a 'precarious Dependence upon Foreign Coun-'cils and Intereſts, and the Power of Foreign 'Troops. The late unhappy Union has en-'creas'd the Differences between his Majeſty's 'Subjects of *Scotland* and *England*; neither can 'we hope the Party, who chiefly contributed to 'bring us into Bondage, will at any time endea-'vour to work our Relief. Our Subſtance has 'been waſted in the late ruinous Wars, and we 'ſee an unavoidable Proſpect of having Wars 'continued to us and our Poſterity, ſo long as 'the Poſſeſſion of the Crown is not in the Right 'Line. The Hereditary Rights of the Subject 'are now treated as of no Value; a pack'd up Aſ-'ſembly, that call themſelves a *Britiſh* Parlia-'ment, have, ſo far as in them lies, *inhumanly* 'murder'd their own and our Soveraign, by pro-'miſing ſo great a Reward for ſo execrable Crime. 'They have preſcrib'd worthy Patriots for their

‘ honourable and ſucceſsful Endeavours to re-
‘ ſtore Trade, Plenty and Peace to theſe Na-
‘ tions; they have empower'd a Foreign Prince
‘ (who notwithſtanding his Expectation of the
‘ Crown for fifteen Years, is ſtill unacquainted
‘ with our Manners, Cuſtoms and Language)
‘ *to make an abſolute Conqueſt of the Three King-*
‘ *doms* (if not timely prevented) by inveſting
‘ himſelf with *unlimited Power*, *&c.* The Conſi-
‘ deration of theſe unhappy Circumſtances, with
‘ a due Regard to Common Juſtice, *&c.* has en-
‘ gag'd us in the preſent Undertaking, which
‘ we are reſolv'd to puſh to the utmoſt, and to
‘ ſtand by one another to the laſt Extremi-
‘ ty, *&c.* And we earneſtly beſeech and ex-
‘ pect (as his Majeſty commands) the Aſſiſtance
‘ of all our true Fellow-Subjects, to ſecond this
‘ our *firſt* Attempt. We declare we will endea-
‘ vour to have ſuch Laws enacted, as ſhall give
‘ abſolute Security to us, and future Ages, *for*
‘ *the Proteſtant Religion*, againſt all Efforts of
‘ Arbitrary Power, Popery, and all its other
‘ Enemies; nor have we any Reaſon to diſtruſt
‘ the Truth and Purity of our holy Religion,
‘ or the known Excellency of his Majeſty's
‘ Judgment, as not to hope that in due Time,
‘ good Example and Converſation with our
‘ Learned Divines, will remove thoſe Preju-
‘ dices, *which we know his Education in a Popiſh*
‘ *Country has not rivetted in his Royal diſcerning*
‘ *Mind.* To conclude, we ſhall concur with our
‘ Fellow-Subjects in ſuch Meaſures as will make
‘ us flouriſh at home, and be formidable abroad,
‘ under our rightful Soveraign, and ancient
‘ Conſtitution, undiſturb'd by a *Pretender*'s Coun-
‘ cils and Intereſt from abroad, or a reſtleſs
‘ Faction at home.

HAVING

HAVING thus openly avow'd the Cauſe, they proſecute it as well as they can; their firſt Attempt was againſt *Edinburgh* Caſtle, which they attempted to ſurprize: The Project was this. About eighty Perſons were to mount the Wall by the Weſt-ſide of the Caſtle, by *Rope-Ladders* provided for that Purpoſe, which were to be pulled up by ſome Soldiers belonging to the Garriſon, who had been corrupted. This Deſign was to have been executed *Sept.* 8. but was ſeaſonably diſcover'd by the Care of the Lord Juſtice *Clerk*, the Conſpirators being taken in the very Fact. Deſign on *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

THEIR Friends in *England* were not idle, but were happily prevented from doing all the Miſchief they deſign'd, by the timely apprehending ſome that were thought Chiefs in the Conſpiracy; as Mr. *Harvey* of *Combe*, Mr. *Anſtis* Sir *William Wyndham* Mr. *Harvey*, upon his being taken, ſtabb'd himſelf in two or three Places with a Penkife, but the Wounds did not prove Mortal. Sir *William Wyndham* made his Eſcape from the Meſſenger, but was purſu'd by a Proclamation, in which it was aſſerted, 'That 'on Peruſal of Papers found in his Cuſtody, it 'did appear he had enter'd into a moſt horrid 'and traiterous Conſpiracy, not only for the 'Encouragement of the Rebellion now carrying 'on in theſe Kingdoms in favour of the Pre-'tender, but alſo for the abetting and promoting 'the intended Invaſion of theſe Kingdoms.' Ten Days after he ſurrender'd himſelf, and was committed to the *Tower*. Conſpirators in *England* taken up.

BRISTOL, that was to be made a ſort of Magazine for the Rebels, was ſecur'd from them by the Earl of *Berkley*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of that City. At *Bath* were ſeiz'd eleven Cheſts of Fire-Arms, an Hog-

ſhead of Basket-Hilt Swords, three Pieces of Canon, and Moulds to caſt Canon, which had been buried in the Ground. Major General *Pepper* with a Regiment of Dragoons is ſent to *Oxford*, who ſeizing ſeveral Papiſts, and other Jacobites, prevented the Inſurrection deſign'd there; and by this Means (the apprehending ſome of the Ringleaders, and the Flight of others) their Affairs in *England* did not ſucceed according to Deſire and Expectation.

Inſurrection in *Northumberland.*

IN the North, where all the Precaution was not us'd that might have been, the Conſpirators venture on in their Enterprize. The Earl of *Derwentwater*, Mr. *Forſter*, *&c.* to the Number of about two hundred and fifty, rendezvouz'd at *Plainfield*, near *Rothbury*, *Thurſday Octob.* 6. From whence they march'd to *Warkworth*, about four Miles off *Alnwick*, *Octob.* 7. On *Saturday* the Lord *Widdrington* join'd them with thirty Horſe. On *Monday Octob.* 10. they were joined with about forty Horſe from *Scotland.* They ſtaid at *Warkworth* till *Thurſday Octob.* 14. when they left the Place, and came to *Morpeth*, under the Command of Mr. *Forſter*, Parliament-Man for that County, and now the Pretender's Champion and General. The next Morning after their Arrival at *Morpeth*, *viz. Octob.* 15. they drew up about the Croſs on Horſeback, and proclaimed the Pretender (as they had done before at *Warkworth*) and at the ſame time invited all ſorts of Perſons to enter into his Service (the Pretender) promiſing them Twelve Pence *per* Day, only the *Presbyterians*, whom they expreſly excluded from that Honour. When they left *Morpeth*, they were computed 373. Their next March was to *Hexham*, where they ſtaid four Nights (from *Octob.* 15. to the 19th) and there alſo proclaim'd their Maſter King

King of *England*. I know not of any remarkable Piece of Chivalry they did in any of theſe Places, only their taking Priſoner one *Thomas Gibſon*, a Blackſmith in *Newcaſtle*, who fell in with them between *Morpeth* and *Felton*, and was carried Captive from Place to Place, as the firſt Fruits of their Warefare. From *Warkworth* to *Morpeth* they ſet him on the bare Horſe, pinion'd, and it ſeems as he was riding thro' *Morpeth* in this Condition, ſome of the Company took Occaſion to divert themſelves with the Priſoner, pointing at him, and calling him Names, he crying out, *for the Hope of* Iſrael *I'm bound with this Chain.*

THE Government was not unconcern'd at theſe Proceedings, but having Intelligence of the Riſing and Motions of the Rebels, ſent Lieutenant General *Carpenter* with *Hotham*'s Regiment of Foot, *Cobham*'s, *Moleworth*'s and *Churchill*'s Dragoons againſt them, who arriv'd at *Newcaſtle* about the 20th of *Octob.* and marching in Queſt of the Rebels, drove them out of the County into the Borders of *Scotland*, where they were joyn'd firſt by three Troops of Horſe, commanded by the Lord *Kenmure*, and afterwards (*Octob.* 22.) by a larger Body of Foot, about 1500, who had found Means to croſs the *Forth* under Brigadier *Mackintoſh*; but being purſued by the King's Forces, they made the beſt of their way to *Lancaſter*, and troubled this Part of the Country no more.

SO little paſs'd that was memorable during the Diſturbances in *Northumberland*, that I ſhall be excus'd, if I paſs them over the more lightly. No Blood was ſhed as I know of, and little Violence offer'd by any of the Rebels in their Tours up and down the Country; only where they found Arms and Horſes, to their Purpoſe, they made

made bold with 'em. The old ruin'd Caſtle of *Holy Iſland* was ſurpriz'd by *Lancelot Errington* of *Newcaſtle*, a Maſter of a Ship, who by a Stratagem got the few Men in the Caſtle on Board his Veſſel, and ſo took Poſſeſſion; but the Governor of *Berwick* ſending a few Soldiers the next Day, diſpoſſeſs'd the new Commandant *Errington*, and took him and his Company Priſoners. But their chief Deſign undoubtedly was upon *Newcaſtle*, where they expected Money and Friends, and conſiderable Supplies of both; and had they ſucceeded, it would no queſtion have been of the utmoſt Conſequence to them, and very much encourag'd and encreas'd their Party, as it would probably have involv'd the Town in Confuſion and Blood; for what by the Sword of the Enemy without, and of Confederates within aſſiſting them, and the Sword of Authority for reducing the Place, had it fallen into the Rebels Hands, who can tell the Deſolations that would have enſu'd! *Preſton*'s Miſeries were but a Taſte of what *Newcaſtle* might have expected. 'Tis like they would have had little to do, but (as *Titus* at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*) ſtand by and ſee the Inhabitants tear and deſtroy one another. But the Divine Providence averted the Blow; the Enemy was diſcourag'd from ſo much as attempting any thing, by the Care and Vigilance of the Right honourable the Earl of *Scarborough*, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and of the Deputy Lieutenants and Magiſtrates of the Place, among whom I may be allow'd to ſay, Mr. Alderman *White* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by a Zeal becoming a *Patrician*, and for which he has the Thanks and good Wiſhes of *all* the Inhabitants, except ſuch as regret the Deliverance.

Deſign againſt *Newcaſtle* prevented.

THE

THE Rebels being at *Kelſo* upon the Borders, where our Account left them, and where they were joyn'd with their *Scotch* Friends, hearing of General *Carpenter*'s Approach, left that Place *October* 27, and march'd to *Jedburgh*, and from thence *October* 29 to *Hawick*, when about three Hundred of the *Scotch* took Occaſion to ſeparate from them, moſt of whom ſurrender'd to the Government at *Lemmington*. At *Hawick* they had a Conſultation among themſelves, whether to ſtand their Ground and fight General *Carpenter*, or March off. *Mackintoſh* was for the firſt, urging the Superiority of their Number, that the longer they defer'd an Engagement, the greater Oppoſition they were like to meet with; and that their flying before ſo inconſiderable a Number of Troops, would at once diſpirit their Friends and encourage their Enemies: But General *Foſter* was againſt fighting, till they were joyn'd with a better Body of Horſe; and moſt of the other Chiefs gave into this Opinion. Some were for going back to *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the Earl of *Mar* in reducing *Argyle*; after which all *Scotland* would be their own: This was propos'd and urg'd by the Earl of *Winton*, but the Lord *Widdrington* was for marching into *Lancaſhire* to join their Friends there; which accordingly they did, leaving *Hawick October* 30, from whence they march'd to *Langholm*, from thence to *Brampton*, and ſo to *Penrith*, *November* 2, where they ſeiz'd what Money they could get belonging to the publick Revenue (to the Value 'tis ſaid of about Seventy Pounds); from thence to *Appleby*, *Nov.* 3. thence to *Kendal*, *Nov.* 4, next to *Kirby Louſdale*, *Nov.* 6, and ſo to *Lancaſter*, *Nov.* 7. In moſt of which places they Proclaim'd the Pretender as King of *England*, with Drums beating, Colours flying, the *Scotch* being diſtinguiſhed by blue and white Cockades, and the

March of the Rebels from *Kelſo* to *Preſton*.

Vide Polit. State, *Nov*, 1715. *p.* 495.

the *Engliſh* by red and white; part of the Rebels were at *Lancaſter* on Lords-Day, *Nov.* 6, when 'tis ſaid, one of their Chaplains preach'd from *Iſaiah* 13. 15, 16. *Every one that's found ſhall be thruſt thro', and every one that's join'd to him ſhall fall by the Sword: Their Children alſo ſhall be daſh'd to Pieces before their Eyes, their Houſes ſhall be ſpoil'd and their Wives raviſht.* Whether this be Matter of Fact I know not, the ſame having been ſaid to have been done at *Warkworth* in *Northumberland*, which I ſuppoſe to be a Miſtake. At *Lancaſter* they Proclaim'd the Pretender, *November* 8, and having ſeiz'd ſeven or eight Pieces of Canon, and fitted them with Carriages, they march'd to *Preſton*, *Nov.* 5. being diverted from their Deſign on *Liverpool*, by the extraordinary Zeal and Diligence of the Inhabitants, who planted Seventy Pieces of Canon about the Town, laid part of the Avenues under Water, and threw up a Line where the Water would not reach: In their March to *Preſton* they were joyned by about fifteen Hundred, moſt of *Lancaſhire*; and being thus Reinforc'd, and not knowing whither immediately to fly, they Barricade the Place, as well as they could, wait the coming of the King's *Forces* under General *Carpenter* and General *Wills*; and having ſuſtain'd a ſort of a Fight, moſtly out of the Windows, in which they Killed and Wounded about 120 of the King's Troops; they reſign'd themſelves Priſoners at Diſcretion to the Number of about 1470. of *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen about 75; *Scotch* Noblemen and Gentlemen 143; the reſt being Vaſſals, Servants, and Private Men.

Their Surrender at *Preſton.*

FEW need be inform'd that at the ſame time, *viz. Nov.* 13. the Duke of *Argyle* Attack'd the greater Body of Rebels in *Scotland* Commanded by the Earl of *Mar*. The Attack was made with the

Battle at *Dumblain.*

the utmoſt Diſadvantages (the Duke having but between three and four Thouſand againſt about thrice that Number; and his Men being ſurpriz'd before they were all form'd, and many of them out of Breath by marching up an Hill) and yet it pleas'd God, *to whom the Iſſues of Battel belongs*, ſo far to ſucceed it, as to prevent the Deſign of the Rebels, which was to croſs the *Forth*; on which Account it muſt be eſteem'd of no ſmall uſe in the preſent Juncture of Affairs, whether it may be call'd a Victory or not; for the Conſequence of it was, that inſtead of attempting to preſs forward, *Mar* and his Men retire to *Perth*. At *Perth* they wait for the *Pretender* with his Forces, and ſet themſelves to Fortify the Place for their greater Safety: *December* 22, their Soveraign arrives at *Peterhead* in a *French* Ship formerly a Privateer of 8 Guns, but brought no Succours as was expected, only a few Gentlemen and Officers in his Retinue; among whom was the Lord *Tinmouth*, Son to the Duke of *Berwick*, and Lieutenant *Cameron*; the Lieutenant was immediately ſent Expreſs to *Perth*, where he arriv'd on the 26th, and on the 27th *Mar* and other Chiefs went to wait on the *Pretender* at *Fetteroſſe*, and kiſs his Hand: Soon after his Landing the *Chevalier* puts forth his Declaration, in which 'tis obſervable, he does not ſo much as diſſemble a Regard to the Proteſtant Religion, nor once promiſe directly to maintain it; notwithſtanding the Epiſcopal Clergy at *Aberdeen*, welcome their Soveraign, as they call him, with an Addreſs preſented by ſome of their Body at *Fetteroſſe December* 29. In which among many other remarkable things, worthy of themſelves, they take Notice, 'God 'had train'd up his Majeſty from his Infancy in the School of the Croſs; and as this School has 'ſent

The Addreſſes of the Epiſcopal Clergy of *Aberdeen*.

'ſent forth the moſt Illuſtrious Princes, as *Moſes*, *Joſeph* and *David*, ſo they intimate their 'Hopes he'll be like them. Adding, That his 'Princely Virtues are ſuch, that in the eſteem 'of the beſt Judges, he was *worthy to wear a* 'Crown, tho' he had not been born to it; and for 'themſelves, (good Men) they are confident it 'would be his Majeſty's Care to make his Sub-'jects an Happy People; to ſecure to them their 'Religion, Liberties, &c. and unite all in true 'Chriſtianity, according to the Goſpel of Jeſus 'Chriſt (*i. e.* as interpreted by the Church) and 'the Practice of the Primitive Chriſtians (*i. e.* 'met at *Trent* in the middle of the Sixteenth 'Century).

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FROM *Fetteroſſe* he went to *Brechin*, *January* 2d, and paſſing thro' *Kinmaird*, *Glames*, *Dundee*, &c. he came to *Scone* near *Perth*: Some obſerv'd that in none of the Places he paſs'd thro' he attended the Epiſcopal Worſhip, but conſtantly employ'd his own Confeſſor, Father *Innys*, to ſay the *Pater Noſter*, and *Ave-Mary's*, &c. for him, which would have offended many of his Friends, had he not aton'd for it, in a good Meaſure, by turning out and Impriſoning the Presbyterian Miniſters where they fell in his way. On Monday *January* 9, he made his publick Entry on Horſeback into *Perth*; and in the Evening returning to *Scone*, fix'd his Council, and iſſued out ſeveral Proclamations, *viz.* One for a General Thankſgiving for his Arrival; another for Praying for him in Churches; a third for the Currency of all Foreign Coin; a fourth for the Meeting of a Convention of States; a fifth for all ſenſible Men from ſixteen to ſixty, to repair to his Royal Standard; a ſixth for his Coronation, which was fix'd to the 23d of *January*.

BUT

BUT before all this Work could be diſpatc'd, the *Dutch* Forces arrive at *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*; which was not grateful to his Majeſty of *Scone*, ſpoiling the Ceremony of his Coronation, and hindring the Meeting of his Convention of States, Parliament, *&c.* Inſtead of which fine things, the only Matter now under Conſideration was, how to provide for their own Safety, and the grand Queſtion debated was, whether to maintain the Place, and fight the Duke of *Argyle*, or Retreat; and if we may believe a late Pamphlet, call'd, *An Account of the Proceedings at Perth*; moſt of the Officers and Soldiers, eſpecially the Highland Clans, were for the former, and indeed ſo keen for fighting, that they could ſcarce be reſtrain'd. On the 30th of *January*, they had a Council of War open'd by the *Pretender* himſelf, who ſpoke as well as he could, and in a few words propos'd the Caſe; which *Mar*, with all the Eloquence he's Maſter of, enlarg'd upon: He told them, 'Their great 'Expectation was from the Duke of *Ormond's* 'Landing in *England*, as had been concerted between his Grace and himſelf; but that the Duke and his Friends had met with many Diſappointments, and their Deſigns were betray'd; that the Duke had ſail'd to the Coaſt of *England*, and gone on Shore, but found his Friends ſo diſcourag'd that 'twas impoſſible to bring them together; that his Grace was gone back to *France*, where Preparations were making for his Deſcent on *England*, with ſuch Power as would protect their Friends, *&c.* That theſe things have brought the Weight of the War upon *Scotland*, and not only ſo, but had caus'd the Succours which they had expected from Abroad to be ſtop'd, and reſerv'd for the D — of *O* — *d*'s Expedition, which was

Conſultation at *Perth* about fighting.

'now

'now in great forwardneſs in the Weſtern Parts 'of *France*; upon which he propoſes it to be 'conſider'd, what was beſt to be done, and 'whether they could maintain themſelves in 'their preſent Scituation, *&c.*' This was follow'd with warm Debates, and with ſuch Sollicitations for fighting, by ſundry Gentlemen, that *Mar* and others, who were reſolv'd againſt hazarding a Battel, were forc'd to Adjourn the Council till next Morning: In the mean time, and a few Hours after, a Select Number got together, to whom *Mar* urg'd the Neceſſity of Retreating, and as 'tis ſaid, offer'd the following Particulars as the Reaſons of his Motion.

(1.) THAT a Foreign Prince who had not *yet* declar'd *openly* in favour of their Enterprize, but was firm in their Intereſt, had ſignify'd that it was his deſire, they ſhould by no means put it to the Hazard *yet*; but make as handſome a Retreat as poſſible, and withdraw as many as could by Shipping into *France*, where they ſhould be protected, and that when the *Imperialiſts* were thoroughly Embark'd in a War with the *Turks* that he would openly aſſiſt.

(2.) THAT the Train of their Councils being diſcover'd in *England*, the Aſſiſtance they depended on from Abroad was at preſent rendred Impracticable; that the Proceedings againſt their Friends in *England* had diſconcerted their Meaſures; that the People now in the Government had had time to raiſe Money, Troops, and get over Foreign Forces, *&c.*

(3.) THAT they ow'd their Diſappointment to a *curſed Aſſembly of Whigs* (meaning the Parliament) but theſe could ſit but for a limited Time

Time, *which would ſoon expire*; and ſuch were the Affections of the People to the *Pretender*, that they were aſſur'd they might expect the next Houſe of Commons would be *quite another ſort of People*, &c. And upon theſe and the like Conſiderations it was reſolv'd not to Fight, but to Retreat, and indeed to quit the Deſign at preſent; tho' this was conceal'd from their Followers, who knew nothing of the Matter, and ſuppos'd they only waited for *a more favourable Opportunity* of engaging the Forces that purſu'd them. But their *real* Intention was to ſeparate, and accordingly they march'd from *Perth* to *Dundee*, and *Montroſs*; where having receiv'd Intelligence, *Sept.* 14, that part of the King's Army was advancing towards them, the *Pretender* order'd the Clans that remain'd with him, to be ready to March about eight at Night towards *Aberdeen*, where he aſſur'd them a Conſiderable Force would ſoon come to their Aſſiſtance from *France*: At the Hour appointed for their March, the *Pretender* order'd his Horſe to be brought before the Door of the Houſe where he Lodg'd, and his Guard to Mount, as if he intended to accompany them to *Aberdeen*; but at the ſame time he ſlipp'd privately out on Foot, went to the Earl of *Mar*'s Lodging, and from thence by a By-way to the Water ſide, where a Boat was waiting, and carried him and *Mar* on Board a *French* Ship; and about a quarter of an Hour after, two other Boats carry'd the Earl of *Melford* and the Lord *Drummond*, Lieutenant General *Sheldon*, and ten other Gentlemen on Board the ſame Ship; and then they hoiſted Sail and put to Sea: And *this ended* the Rebellion in a great Meaſure: The Heads having made their Eſcape, the reſt were put to ſhift for themſelves as well as they could: Some were taken, ſome

The Pretender's Flight from *Scotland*.

Execution of *Derwentwater*.

were taken, ſome diſpers'd, and ſome 'tis known, both of *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Juſtice purſu'd; as the Earl of *Derwentwater*, the Lord *Kenmure*, who were Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, *February* 24. Sundry more of an Inferior Rank ſuffer'd alſo; which yet are *ſo few* in proportion to the Number of the Conſpirators, and the Heinouſneſs of the Crime, that *Mercy has rejoyced over Judgment* in an extraordinary manner, ('tis pity it ſhould be with no better Effect). The Earl of *Derwentwater* died avowing his Treaſon, asking Pardon for his Pleading Guilty at his Trial; by which he intimates he had *made too bold with his Loyalty*, having never any other for his Rightful and Lawful Soveraign but King *James* III. whom he looks upon as a Perſon capable of making his People Happy, *i. e.* by making them *Papiſts*. And notwithſtanding all his Lordſhip ſaid at his Trial to excuſe his Riſing and taking up Arms, he now owns he intended to ſerve his King, *the Pretender*, and his Country by it; hoping *by his Example* to have induc'd others to their Duty, and having pray'd for the Reſtoration of the Antient Conſtitution, and Welfare of his Country, he begs his Life may be accepted as a ſmall Sacrifice towards it; and 'tis ſaid he would have had the Undertaker for his Funeral, to have provided him a Silver Plate for his Coffin, importing, *That he died a Sacrifice for his Lawful Soveraign*; and in the like unrelenting Temper died the Lord *Kenmure*, and moſt of the reſt that have hitherto ſuffer'd: Nor can it be deny'd, that the whole Party thro' the Nation ſtill retain the ſame Spirit, notwithſtanding the Hand of Heaven ſo manifeſt in their Defeat. The Judgments of God and the Mercy of their Prince are loſt upon them; and if we may judge of them from their preſent Conduct,

they ſeem with a Heart *hardned like Pharoah's*, reſolv'd to purſue the Deſtruction of their Country or periſh in the Attempt; and we muſt wait on Providence for the Iſſue of theſe things: In the mean time the ſame God who *hath deliver'd* us from *ſo great a Death*, and who *doth* deliver, we truſt will *yet* deliver.

AND thus I have finiſh'd the *Account* I propos'd *of the Plots and Conſpiracies againſt our Religion and Liberties*, and have trac'd it from the *Reformation* to the preſent Day, thro' every Reign; by which it appears, how induſtrious our Enemies have been to deſtroy us! How watchful the Divine Providence to Deliver and Save us; and I hope there will need little Exhortation to the Proteſtant and Pious Reader *here to ſet up his Ebenezer*, to Acknowledge and Celebrate the Divine Providence: *If it had not been the Lord on our Side*, now may *Iſrael ſay*, (and *England* ſay) *If it had not been the Lord who was on our Side, when Men roſe up againſt us, they had ſwallowed us up quick; when their Wrath was kindled againſt us, then the Waters had over-whelm'd us, the Stream had gone over our Soul; but bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given us a Prey to their Teeth, our Soul is eſcap'd, as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers, the Snare is broken and we are eſcap'd:* Let every true *Briton*, Proteſtant and Chriſtian own this; and with Hands, Eyes, and Hearts lift up to Heaven, give God the Glory of his own Work: *Hitherto the Lord has helped us*!

BUT I leave the Reader to ſuch Reſentments, as the Nature of the Subject exacts from him: My Province is properly that of an Hiſtorian, and therefore Reflections of another Nature muſt be omitted: I ſhall only juſt touch upon ſome of the *more Eminent* Stroaks of Providence in all

Some eminent Strokes of Providence in the several Deliverances before mentioned.

this Salvation, for assisting the Reader's Gratitude, and this shall be a Conclusion to the whole Discourse. A great deal of Providence was seen when the Work was *set on Foot*; and God *first* brought back our Captivity, (I mean at the *Reformation*). It pleas'd that God *that dwelt between the Cherubims*, then to shine forth; and 'tis evident to a diligent Observer, that there has been τὸ θεῖον, something Divine, eminently so, in our Safety every since.

THE Occasion of the Breach between King *Henry* VIII. and the Pope, *viz.* the Divorce, was Remarkable, and no question, may be consider'd as an Affair, under the special Influence of Providence.

FIRST, the Pope grants a Dispensation to the King to Marry his Brother's Widow contrary to the Law of God, which he did upon Politick Views; thinking thereby to secure the King's of *England* most firmly in his Interest, when their very Title to their Crowns depended upon the papal Power; but this *fetch of Carnal Policy* prov'd his Ruine; for afterwards when the King has recourse to the same Power to undoe what he had done, and Sues for a Divorce, he was under a Necessity of denying him, or disobliging the Emperor, *who* at that time had him under the Lash; which enrag'd the King to that degree that he resolves to turn his Back on *Rome*; and thus Providence over-rul'd the *Pope's Policy*, and the *King's Passions*, to bring about *a most Glorious Revolution*.

AND I can't but reckon it a very *kind and special Providence*, that watched over Arch-bishop *Cranmer*, the main Instrument in the Reformation: *Gardiner* who was his Mortal Enemy, and several more Accomplices with him, often Conspired his Destruction; drew up Articles against him

him, accuſe him to the King as the great Cauſe of *Hereſy*, and Patron of *Hereticks*; and when they thought they had gain'd their Point, the King himſelf ſteps in, and Reſcues him from Ruine; which he did time after time, to the utter Confuſion of his Enemies; and with ſuch peculiar Marks of Affection and Friendſhip to the Biſhop, that I can't but look upon it as pure Deſign of Providence that touch'd the Heart of the King, and gave him a Favour *in* his Sight. *Vid. Stripes* Memorial of *Cranmer* *p.* 109.

ANOTHER Inſtance of Providence favouring the Reformation, I'll borrow from Dr. *Heylin*, *viz.* 'That a violent raging Fever in Queen *Ma-*
'*ry*'s Days, took off ſuch a Number of the Prieſts
'that a Multitude of the Churches were unſer-
'ved, and no Curates to be got for Money. He
'adds, God ſo order'd it, that by the Death of
'ſo many of the *Preſent Clergy*, a Door was o-
'pen'd for the Preaching of ſounder Doctrine,
'with far leſs Envy and Diſpleaſure from all
'ſorts of People than if it had been otherwiſe;
'within leſs than the ſpace of twelve Months,
'almoſt one half of the *Engliſh* Biſhops had made
'void their Sees; which, ſays he, with the
'Death of ſo many Prieſts in ſeveral Places,
'did much facilitate the way of the Reformati-
'on, that ſoon follow'd.' Thus God was pleas'd
'to remove out of the way by his own imme-
diate Hand, ſuch as were more like to obſtruct his Work, and thereby make Room for others. Hiſtory of *Reformat.* *p.* 251.

OF the like Nature I may reckon *the ſhort Life* of that Bloody Perſecuting Princeſs Queen *Mary*, and the Preſervation of her Siſter and Succeſſor Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithſtanding the Danger ſhe was in. The Queen had no great Affection for her; ſhe was the *great Hope* of the Re-

for-

formers, and *the Dread* of the Papiſts; was Impriſon'd in the *Tower*, and deſign'd for the Scaffold; and yet Providence prevents the Miſchief, by ſtirring up King *Philip*, Queen *Mary*'s Husband to intercede for her, which he did, tho' 'tis thought there was more of a Politick Intereſt in it, than Tenderneſs to the Life of that Princeſs.

I will add one Example more, to the ſame Purpoſe, out of the late Pious Biſhop of *Sarum* (ὁ μακαρίτης) 'When the Light ſeem'd almoſt 'extinguiſh'd in one place, it broke out in ano-'ther; by which it was ſtill kept ſhining ſome-'where; ſo there was a Sanctuary open'd, to 'which thoſe who were forc'd to fly from one 'Place, might in their Flight find a Covert in 'another from the Storm. In the beginning 'of King *Edward*'s Reign, by the breaking off 'the *Smalcaldick League*; by the taking of the 'Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Heſs*, 'and by the *Interim*, the Reformation ſeem'd to 'be almoſt extinguiſh'd in *Germany*. In this 'Church, it was at that time advanc'd, and we 'kindly receiv'd thoſe that were forc'd to fly 'hither for Shelter. And now in the Year be-'fore the Death of this King, there was not 'only a Revival, but a laſting Settlement pro-'cur'd in *Germany* to the Reformation there, ſo 'that thoſe who fled from hence, found a ſafe 'and kind Harbour in all Places of the Empire; 'upon which he makes this Reflection, *That the* '*Reformation was under a kind and watchful Pro-*'*vidence.*

History Pt. 3. p. 291.

HOW much the *ſame Providence* was concern-ed in Conducting his Church and People, thro' all the Dangers of Queen *Elizabeth*'s and King *James*'s

194067